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Sextus Empiricus

**ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΥΣ**

**AGAINST THE MUSICIANS**

(Adversus musicos)

A new critical text and  
translation on facing pages,  
with an introduction, annotations,  
and *indices verborum*  
and *nominum et rerum* by

Denise Davidson Greaves



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To Sheldon

## CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . .	ix
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
The Life of Sextus Empiricus . . . . .	1
The Writings and the Skeptic	
Methods of Sextus Empiricus . . . . .	5
Skeptic Aims . . . . .	17
The <i>Adversus mathematicos</i> . . . . .	18
The <i>Adversus musicos</i> . . . . .	19
The Manuscripts . . . . .	35
The Text of the <i>Adversus musicos</i> . . . . .	97
The Present Edition . . . . .	115
CONSPECTUS CODICUM ET NOTARUM . . . . .	117
ADVERSUS MUSICOS . . . . .	120
PLATES . . . . .	183
INDEX VERBORUM . . . . .	187
INDEX NOMINUM ET RERUM . . . . .	203

## PREFACE

Sextus Empiricus, a Skeptic philosopher of the second century A.D., has been important to students of philosophy for many centuries because his writings constitute the major surviving source of information on ancient Pyrrhonian Skepticism, as well as contributing to the understanding of the views of other philosophers and philosophical schools. The *Adversus mathematicos* is a series of treatises in which Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how Skeptic methods are applied to the divisions of philosophy and to the subjects of education that were considered standard in his time. The *Adversus musicos*, one part of this series, is important to students of music history because it provides a consideration of ethical views of music--a subject of some concern to philosophers of antiquity--and shows how general philosophical problems--such as the nature of substance, change, and time--may be viewed in respect to the technical theories of music.

The present edition has a twofold aim. First, it presents a critical edition of the text of the *Adversus musicos* that is more authoritative than editions previously published, which were based on a consideration of no more than eight manuscripts. The present edition, by contrast, is based on a new collation of twenty-five manuscripts, most of which are not cited by earlier editors and one of which is earlier than any manuscript cited in previous editions. Second, the edition attempts to make accessible to the English reader the methods, aims, and thought of Sextus Empiricus through a new translation into English on facing pages accompanied by a running commentary that sets out related passages in other ancient sources, provides explanatory notes, and cites important current secondary literature. An Introduction furnishes information on Skepticism in general and the life and writings of Sextus Empiricus, illuminates the *Adversus musicos* through a discussion of its form and major parallel sources of antiquity, provides a *catalogue raisonné* of the manuscripts used in the edition, and discusses the text of the *Adversus musicos* as it is preserved in the codices and the earlier editions.

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## INTRODUCTION

### *The Life of Sextus Empiricus*

Definite information on the life of Sextus Empiricus is not preserved to any great degree in ancient sources. Some general outlines, however, can be drawn from references in the extant writings of Sextus Empiricus himself, the works of Diogenes Laertius, and writings attributed to the physician Galen.

### *Floruit*

Sextus Empiricus probably lived at least a generation before Diogenes Laertius, since both Sextus Empiricus and his student Saturninus are mentioned as major figures of the Skeptic school by Diogenes Laertius at the end of his account of the life of Timon: "Herodotus taught Sextus Empiricus, who wrote ten books on Scepticism, and other fine works. Sextus taught Saturninus called Cythenas, another empiricist."<sup>1</sup> If Diogenes Laertius lived in the first half of the third century, as is generally supposed,<sup>2</sup> one may place Sextus Empiricus around the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century A.D. A *terminus ante quem* of the early third century is confirmed by the dates of Hippolytus (ca.

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<sup>1</sup>"Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα. Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνύνης ὁ Κυθηναῖος, ἔμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.116; translation in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers in Two Volumes*, trans. R. D. Hicks, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970-72], 2:527).

<sup>2</sup>Herbert S. Long, "Diogenes Laertius," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 348. It would be tenuous to date Sextus Empiricus solely on this evidence, since he is one of the major figures used to establish a *terminus post quem* for Diogenes Laertius, and one encounters a problem of circular reasoning.

A.D. 170-ca. 236), whose *Refutatio omnium haeresium* transcribes Sextus Empiricus's *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*.<sup>3</sup>

A slightly earlier date, ca. A.D. 100, has been suggested by Fridolf Kudlien.<sup>4</sup> His conclusion is dependent upon the argument that Herodotus of Tarsus, the teacher of Sextus Empiricus named by Diogenes Laertius, is the same man as the Herodotus discussed in the medical works of Galen, and that Arieus, who is named by Diogenes Laertius as the father of Herodotus, is the same Arieus to whom the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides Pedanius was dedicated. The evidence is possible but tenuous.<sup>5</sup>

In the first book of his *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, Sextus Empiricus implies that the chief opponents to Skeptic philosophy are the Stoics: "Now according to those Dogmatists who are, at present, our chief opponents--I mean the Stoics-- . . ."<sup>6</sup> Because of his many references to Stoics and Stoicism, he is regarded as a notable source for the study of Stoic philosophy.<sup>7</sup> It has therefore been proposed that Sextus Empiricus lived during a period when Stoicism was thriving. If so, the second century seems a reasonable possibility, and the first half of the third century may also be considered. One must also note that Sextus Empiricus discusses dogmatic sects that are undoubtedly not contemporary

<sup>3</sup>Henry Chadwick, "Hippolytus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 519; Hermann Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter et Socios, 1965), p. 145.

<sup>4</sup>Fridolf Kudlien, "Die Datierung des Sextus Empiricus und des Diogenes Laertius," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 106 (1963): 252-53.

<sup>5</sup>D. K. House, "The Life of Sextus Empiricus," *Classical Quarterly* 30 (1980): 230-31. The arguments used in Kudlien's article are briefly discussed.

<sup>6</sup>"οὗτος τοίνυν κατὰ τοὺς μάλιστα ἡμῶν ἀντιδοξοῦντας νόον δογματικούς, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, . . ." (*Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* [hereafter P.] 1.65; translation in *Sextus Empiricus in Four Volumes*, trans. R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933-49], 1:41).

<sup>7</sup>David J. Furley, "Sextus Empiricus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 984. See also Benson Mates, "Stoic Logic and the Text of Sextus Empiricus," *American Journal of Philology* 70 (1949): 290.

with himself and that he names Stoics from earlier periods.<sup>8</sup> With this in mind, dates within the second century or the first half of the third century are possible but not conclusive.

### Life

Evidence reveals that Sextus Empiricus was a physician as well as a philosopher. The *Introductio seu medicus*, a work once attributed to Galen but now considered spurious, mentions a Sextus who strengthened and belonged to the Empiric school of physicians: "after these were Menodotus and Sextus, who also strengthened it [the Empiric sect] in precision."<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the authorship and date of the work remain unknown, but there is value in the reference as evidence that Sextus Empiricus was a physician of the Empiric school. Support of the view that the Sextus in the *Introductio seu medicus* is Sextus Empiricus is found in the fact that Menodotus, too, is noted as an important Empiric physician, and in the same passage where he mentions Sextus Empiricus and Saturninus, Diogenes Laertius counts Menodotus as an Empiric physician and a significant figure in the tradition of Skeptic philosophy.

There is also evidence in Sextus Empiricus's own works that he was a physician. In one passage, he uses the first person plural form of a verb when giving a medical example (" . . . but it is not for this but for the general abatement in the disease that we recommend the varied diet"<sup>10</sup>), and in another, he refers to Asclepius as "the founder of our science, . . ."<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere, he refers to one of his works, now lost, the *Iatrica hypomnemata*.<sup>12</sup>

The association of Skeptic philosophy with Empiric medicine raises some problems. Sextus Empiricus himself

<sup>8</sup>House, pp. 227-29.

<sup>9</sup>"μεθ' οὗδ' Μηνოდότος καὶ Σέξτιος, οὗ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκρά-  
τουν αὐτὴν [ἐμπειρικὴν αἴρεσιν]" (*Introductio seu medicus*,  
in *Opera omnia*, 20 vols., ed. Karl Gottlob Kühn [Leipzig: Car.  
Knoblochius, 1821-33; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms,  
1964-65], 14:683).

<sup>10</sup>"τὴν δὲ ποικίλην δίαιταν οὐκ ἐν ταύτῃ δοκιμάζομεν  
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ παρακμῇ τοῦ ὅλου νοσήματος" (P. 2.238; translation  
in *Sextus Empiricus*, 1:311).

<sup>11</sup>"τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης" (*Adversus mathe-  
maticos* [hereafter M.] 1.260; translation in *Sextus Empiricus*,  
4:147).

<sup>12</sup>M. 7.202.

points out that the ideas put forth by the Empiric school of medicine are not in agreement with the claims of Skeptic philosophy, and he indicates that the principles of the Methodic school, rather, accord with Skeptic ideas.<sup>13</sup> Elsewhere, however, Sextus Empiricus refers to his work *Empirica hypomnemata*, which no longer survives,<sup>14</sup> and this work indicates that he was interested in Empiricism, though one does not know whether or how he reconciled it with his Skepticism. With all factors in view, one may infer that Sextus Empiricus was a physician important to the Empiric school as well as a Skeptic philosopher.

### Sphere

Sextus Empiricus left no record where he lived or taught. One passage of his own writing implies that he was Greek but not Athenian.<sup>15</sup> When presenting examples of differences in Greek dialects, he employed the first person plural form of a pronoun to refer to the speakers of one dialect ("For example, that which is called by us ὑποπόδιον"), but he used the third person plural of a verb ("the Athenians and Coans call χελωνύς") when indicating the speech of the Athenians and Coans.<sup>16</sup>

In another passage, Sextus Empiricus indirectly states that he had at least visited Athens at some time. His statement that Athens is "occasionally non-evident"<sup>17</sup> to him indicates either that he had been to Athens in the past but was not there at the time he was writing or, perhaps, that he was inside a building in Athens and could not see the city itself.<sup>18</sup> Sextus Empiricus's references to Rome and Alexandria may indicate personal familiarity with those places.<sup>19</sup> In all

<sup>13</sup>p. 1.236-37.

<sup>14</sup>M. 1.61. House, p. 234, suggests that the *Iatrica hypomnemata* and the *Empirica hypomnemata* may be the same work.

<sup>15</sup>Furley, p. 983.

<sup>16</sup>"οἷον τὸ ὑπ' ἡμῶν καλούμενον ὑποπόδιον Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κῶν χελωνύς" (M. 1.246; translation in *Sextus Empiricus*, 4:139).

<sup>17</sup>p. 2.98. This passage falls within a discussion of signs and proofs. Objects are described as pre-evident or non-evident. The term "occasionally non-evident" (πρὸς καιρὸν ἄδηλα) refers to things that are capable of being perceived but are made non-evident by the external situation.

<sup>18</sup>House, p. 232.

<sup>19</sup>Philip P. Hallie, "Sextus Empiricus," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York:

instances, one must not rule out the possibility of Sextus Empiricus borrowing from other sources.<sup>20</sup> It seems reasonably certain that he was not in Alexandria when he wrote the third book of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, for he distinguishes the people in Alexandria from those "here" (παρ' ἡμῶν).<sup>21</sup>

Thus, one can only say of Sextus Empiricus with reasonable certainty that he was a Greek Skeptic philosopher living during the second century or first half of the third century A.D. His places of residence and teaching may be indicated by particular familiarity with Athens, Alexandria, and Rome. Though his main contribution consists of his writings on Skeptic philosophy, he was a physician associated with the Empiric school of medicine, as were Menodotus and Saturninus, other Skeptic philosophers of that general period.

### The Writings and Skeptic Methods of Sextus Empiricus

The largest amount of available information on the ancient Skeptics and Skeptic methods and terminology survives in the writings of Sextus Empiricus. His writings are divided into two major groups, the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* and the *Adversus mathematicos*. Much of this work is a compilation of the ideas and methods of his predecessors rather than a product of original thought. An outline of the development of Skepticism will serve to provide a background for understanding the methods and thought of Sextus Empiricus.

### Brief History and Outline of Skepticism

#### Pyrrho

The founder of the Skeptic tradition in antiquity was Pyrrho of Elis (ca. 360-270 B.C.<sup>22</sup>). None of his own writing survives, but some idea of his life and philosophy can be conjectured through the surviving fragments of the writings of his pupil Timon and through an account of his life written by Diogenes Laertius.

The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 7:427. Athens, Rome, and Alexandria seem to be the places suggested by most scholars. House, p. 232, adds Egypt and Libya to the list.

<sup>20</sup>House, p. 233.

<sup>21</sup>p. 3.221. House, p. 232.

<sup>22</sup>Philip P. Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism, Man, and God: Selections from the Major Writings of Sextus Empiricus*, trans. Sanford G. Etheridge (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1964), pp. 14-15.

Pyrrho's philosophy was characterized by suspension of judgment (ἐποχή) on things that cannot be proven. He claimed a sort of agnosticism by not preferring one assertion over another.

For he asserted that nothing is either good or base or just or unjust. And likewise in everything, in truth there is nothing; by law and by character, rather, are all things done by men. For each thing is no more this than that.<sup>23</sup>

The Skepticism of Pyrrho was a practical way of life (ἀγωγή) rather than a formal system or method.<sup>24</sup> Diogenes Laertius records two differing traditions of the life of Pyrrho. According to the one, Pyrrho was indifferent to all matters in life, caring neither for others nor for himself.

He led a life consistent with this doctrine, going out of his way for nothing, taking no precaution, but facing all risks as they came, whether carts, precipices, dogs or what not, and, generally, leaving nothing to the arbitrament of the senses.<sup>25</sup>

The story was also told of him that once when his teacher Anaxarchus was caught in a slough, he walked by without offering to help.<sup>26</sup> This shows Pyrrho as a man who had forsaken his human awareness and sensitivity and attempted to be independent of the external world.<sup>27</sup>

According to the other tradition, Pyrrho's Skeptic attitude was retained only in theoretical matters. From a practical point of view, he lived successfully.<sup>28</sup>

Pyrrho's views may be represented in a passage that claims Timon as its source.

His [Pyrrho's] pupil Timon says that the man who is to be truly happy must pay regard to these three questions: (1)

23"οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δόκαιον οὔτε ἀδίκον· καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.61).

24Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism*, p. 11.

25"Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἅπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἀμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρηνοῦς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὄλως μηδὲν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐκτρέπων" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.62; translation in *Lives*, 2:475).

26Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.63.

27Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism*, p. 12.

28Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.62.

What is the nature of things? (2) What attitude ought we to adopt with respect to them? (3) What will be the net result for those so disposed? He says that he [Pyrrho] declared that things are by nature equally indeterminable, admitting of neither measurement nor discrimination. For this reason, our sense experiences and beliefs are neither true nor false. Therefore, we ought not to put our trust in them, but be without beliefs, disinclined to take a stand one way or the other; and we should be steadfast in this attitude, saying about each thing individually that it no more is than is not, than both is and is not, than neither is nor is not. For those who are indeed disposed in this manner, according to Timon, there will result first, a disinclination to make assertions and then, ataraxia.<sup>29</sup>

Timon

Timon (ca. 320-230 B.C.<sup>30</sup>) was Pyrrho's most famous student, and tradition records that his Skepticism did not prevent him from participating fully in an active life. Antigonus, one of the sources used by Diogenes Laertius in writing his account of Timon's life, reported that Timon was fond of drinking (φιλοπότης) and that when he had leisure time, he would write epics, tragedies, satyric dramas, comedies, lampoons, and obscene poems.<sup>31</sup> His philosophy was one of accepting and living according to the appearances of things rather than using phenomena to determine the hidden nature

29"ὁ δὲ γε μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων φησὶ, δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα εὐδαιμονήσειν εἰς τρία ταῦτα βλέπειν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅποια πέφυκε τὰ πράγματα· δεύτερον δέ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὰ διακεῖσθαι· τελευταῖον δέ, τί περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πράγματα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν ἐκείνης ἀδιάφορα, καὶ ἀστάθμητα, καὶ ἀνέγκριτα· διὰ τοῦτο, μήτε τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν μήτε τὰς δόξας ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν αὐταῖς δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀδοξάστους, καὶ ἀκλινεῖς, καὶ ἀκραδάντους εἶναι. περὶ ἐνδὸς ἑκάστου λέγοντας, ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ καὶ ἔστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὔτ' οὐκ ἔστιν. τοῖς μέντοι διακειμένοις οὕτω περιέσεσθαι Τίμων φησὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφασίαν, ἔπειτα δ' ἀταραξίαν" (Eusebius *Prep. Ev.* 14.18; translation in Charlotte Stough, *Greek Skepticism: A Study in Epistemology* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969], p. 17). The Greek term ataraxia is often interpreted as unperturbedness or quietude.

30Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism*, p. 17.

31Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.110.



of things. Two sayings attributed to him help illustrate this attitude: "The apparent is omnipotent wherever it goes"; and "I do not lay it down that honey is sweet, but I admit that it appears to be so."<sup>32</sup>

Another fragment exhibits both his verbal wit and his denial of the possibility of arriving at absolute truth. Some, while acknowledging that the senses when used alone are deceptive and that reason is deceptive when used abstractly, nevertheless claimed that the senses and reason could arrive at truth when used together. Timon would say to such people that "birds of a feather flock together,"<sup>33</sup> meaning that the combination of the two does not eliminate deception but merely combines the one with the other.<sup>34</sup>

#### Arcesilaus

At the time of Timon,<sup>35</sup> a form of Skepticism was adopted by leaders of the Platonic Academy, the first of which was Arcesilaus (ca. 315-240 B.C.<sup>36</sup>). The Academics may have regarded their Skepticism as building on a Socratic tradition, since Cicero observed that this philosophical method was "originated by Socrates, revived by Arcesilas, and reinforced by Carneades."<sup>37</sup> Diogenes Laertius reports that Arcesilaus admired Pyrrho,<sup>38</sup> but it cannot be determined how much, if any, of his doctrine Arcesilaus adopted directly from Pyrrho.

<sup>32</sup>"ἀλλὰ τὸ φαίνόμενον πάντα σθένει οὐπὲρ ἂν ἔλθῃ. . . . τὸ μέλι οἷον ἐστὶ γλυκὺ οὐ τίθημι, τὸ δ' οἷον φαίνεται ὁμολογῶ" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.105; translation in Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 16).

<sup>33</sup>"συνῆλθεν Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.114; translation in *Lives*, 2:525).

<sup>34</sup>Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>35</sup>According to Menodotus, one of Diogenes Laertius's sources, Pyrrhonian Skepticism died out after Timon and was revived later. According to others, Hippobotus and Sotion, the tradition was never interrupted, and Diogenes Laertius records the names of those who reportedly continued the tradition in an unbroken succession (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.115-16).

<sup>36</sup>Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup>" . . . profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade . . ." (Cicero *N.D.* 1.11; translation in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum; Academica*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967], p. 15).

<sup>38</sup>Diogenes Laertius Vit. 4.33.

For Arcesilaus, Skepticism was more than merely a practical way of life. He gave to Skepticism a more systematic philosophical method and polemical tone, and much of his polemic was directed against the Stoics in particular. The Stoics' doctrine of truth was based on the idea of the apprehended appearance (καταληπτικὴ φαντασία) followed and affirmed by assent given by the mind (συγκατάθεσις). The sage was one who, after apprehending such clear presentations and assenting to them, founded upon them a conclusive science. Arcesilaus countered this with arguments concerning the unreliability of the senses and exposed weaknesses within Stoic theory. He pointed out that a presentation is called truth when perceived by a wise man but falsity when perceived by a fool. Since there is no criterion for determination of who is wise and who is a fool, one cannot assent to this doctrine.<sup>39</sup>

In response to the Stoics' accusation that suspension of judgment keeps men from living well by preventing them from making decisions and acting accordingly, Arcesilaus developed his theory of the εὐλογον, or the reasonable. Though one cannot depend on phenomena for knowledge, he can act according to what seems reasonable or probable.<sup>40</sup>

#### Carneades

The next figure of the Academy to play an important role in the development of Skeptic philosophy was Carneades (ca. 213-128 B.C.<sup>41</sup>). Carneades added to the arguments of Arcesilaus against the Stoic doctrine of the apprehended appearance by pointing out that what is perceived is not independent of other factors. Affective and subjective elements influence perception so that what appears true may actually be false. Since there is no criterion for determining what is an apprehended appearance and what is only apparently true,

<sup>39</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.150-57; John Glucker, "Arcesilaus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 95; Philip P. Hallie, "Arcesilaus," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 1:145.

<sup>40</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.158. Sextus Empiricus accuses Arcesilaus of not according with Skepticism, since Arcesilaus asserted that the suspension of judgment is good and assent is bad (Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.233).

<sup>41</sup>Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 20.

one must suspend judgment in regard to the truth or falsity of all presentations.<sup>42</sup>

As Arcesilaus had answered the criticism of the Stoics with his principle of the reasonable, Carneades developed a doctrine of the *πᾶσι*, the probable or persuasive. In order to act, it is necessary to assume the truth or falsity of various presentations. Though assertions are not to be made, one can act according to the probability or persuasiveness of phenomena.<sup>43</sup> Carneades set forth three basic degrees of probability. The first involves a presentation that appears believable but is not supported by accompanying presentations. The second is concerned with what appears true and is affirmed by attendant phenomena. The third involves something that is believable in itself, receives support from other presentations, and is affirmed by close investigation of both the thing in question and the accompanying phenomena. For example, if one quickly enters a dark room in which a coil of rope is lying, the rope may at first appear to be a snake. But after the attendant conditions have been perceived and tested, the original appearance becomes unpersuasive, and the object then appears to be a rope.<sup>44</sup>

#### *Aenesidemus and the ten modes*

After Carneades, the Academy abandoned Skepticism, and the next major Skeptic figure, Aenesidemus, is considered to have revived a more Pyrrhonian form of Skepticism. Aenesidemus is generally placed as a younger contemporary of Cicero, but one can say with certainty only that he lived some time after Pyrrho and before Sextus Empiricus.<sup>45</sup>

Aenesidemus is credited with the development of the ten basic *tropoi* (τρόποι) or modes leading to suspension of judgment. It is uncertain to what degree the modes were original with Aenesidemus.<sup>46</sup> To some extent, they can be viewed

<sup>42</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.159-65.

<sup>43</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.166-75.

<sup>44</sup>Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.227-28; Francis H. Sandbach, "Carneades," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 206-7; Philip P. Hallie, "Carneades," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 2:33-34.

<sup>45</sup>Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup>It is possible that the ten modes were formulated at least to some degree by Aenesidemus's predecessors. In

as an extension of Carneades' idea that phenomena are not independent but are influenced by various subjective and affective factors. Similarities can also be found between the ten modes and the categories of Aristotle.<sup>47</sup>

Sextus Empiricus discusses the modes in the first of the three books of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, where he sets forth the methods and aims of Skepticism. In his introduction to the modes, he states that all ten may be grouped into one mode--the mode of relation (*ὁ πρὸς τὴν τρόπον*). This general mode is further divided into three more specific modes: one based on the subject who judges (comprising the first four of the ten), another on the object judged (comprising the seventh and the tenth), and a third on both the subject and the object (including the fifth, sixth, eighth, and ninth).<sup>48</sup>

Of the ten modes, the first is that by which the same things may not cause the same appearances because of differences in animals.<sup>49</sup> Some animals are produced sexually, others asexually. Those that Sextus Empiricus discusses as being produced asexually were believed to have originated from various substances by means of spontaneous generation, such as bees from bulls, wasps from horses, worms from mud. Some animals are born alive, others as eggs, and others--such as bears--were believed to have been born as lumps of flesh. It was supposed that diversity in the origins of animals was a source of differing sense-affections and characters which in turn caused the different animals to perceive things differently.

Variations in the structure of the sense-organs themselves may also affect perception. Animals may have different perceptions of color because some have eyes that are yellow, others bloodshot, and others albino or other colors. The same

the introduction to a discussion of the modes, Sextus Empiricus states that among the older Skeptics, ten *tropoi* have been handed down through which suspension of judgment seems to be brought about. The name of Aenesidemus does not enter the text at all in connection with the ten modes. Diogenes Laertius states that Aenesidemus discusses the ten modes in his work on Pyrrhonism, but he does not state explicitly that Aenesidemus himself actually compiled them.

<sup>47</sup>A. Philip McMahon, "Sextus Empiricus and the Arts," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 42 (1931): 100.

<sup>48</sup>Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.38-39.

<sup>49</sup>Differences in both origin and body structure were believed to affect perception.



object may appear different to animals that have eyes with elongated pupils as opposed to animals with round pupils. Various body coverings, such as skin, shells, feathers, and scales, likely affect the sense of touch. Variations in the size and shape of the auditory canal may influence hearing. Because such variations in animals can cause differences in sense-perception, and because one perception is not necessarily more valid than another, one must suspend judgment regarding the true nature of what is perceived.<sup>50</sup>

The second mode is based on differences in men with respect to both the body and the soul. In the body, there are variations in both forms and peculiar temperament. People of different ethnic origins have different bodily shapes, and Sextus Empiricus attributes this characteristic to a predominance of different humors. Not all people enjoy or avoid the same things, and some people are able to eat certain foods more readily than other people. Some men have escaped unhurt by things considered harmful or poisonous to most others.

Men probably vary, too, in respect to the soul, since the body is a certain *typos* (τύπος), or image, of the soul. As important evidence of this, Sextus Empiricus observes the discrepancy in statements of the various dogmatists concerning what one ought to choose or avoid. Since choice and avoidance are based on pleasure and displeasure, and since pleasure and displeasure are based on feelings and appearances, it follows that people are affected differently by the same things. Since there is no sure criterion that insures the validity of one man's impressions over another's, one cannot make a conclusive statement concerning the reality of the things involved.<sup>51</sup>

Differences in the senses form the basis of the third mode. Obviously, the various senses perceive the same object in different ways. To the eye a painting may seem to have recesses and prominences, but to the touch it seems flat. Honey may seem unpleasant to the eyes but pleasant to the taste; fragrant oil is unpleasant to the taste but pleasing to the sense of smell.

A phenomenon seems to be a complex of impressions perceived by the various senses. For example, an apple seems to be yellow, sweet, fragrant, and smooth. It is non-evident, however, whether the apple has so many qualities or whether it has only one quality that is perceived variously by the different sense-organs. It is also plausible that the apple

may possess more qualities than are apparent to the senses and that these qualities are not apprehended because one does not have the appropriate sense-organs with which to perceive them. A man who has the senses of touch, taste, and smell but lacks the senses of sight and hearing will assume the existence of only the three sorts of qualities that he can perceive. Thus, the senses cannot necessarily be relied upon to reveal the real qualities of objects.<sup>52</sup>

The fourth mode of suspension is based on the circumstances, or disposition, of the subject who is perceiving. What one apprehends changes depending on whether he is awake or asleep, in a natural or unnatural state, in motion or at rest, drunken or sober, or in other conditions caused by age, hatred or love, emptiness or fullness, confidence or fear, grief or joy, or predispositions. People in a state of frenzy or ecstasy may hear voices of demons while one in a natural state does not. Appearances perceived during sleep are different from those perceived while one is awake. Air that seems mild to a younger person may seem chilly to older people, and sounds that may seem faint to the older are clearly audible to the younger. Choice and avoidance, too, are affected by differences in age, since children prefer toys, people in their prime other things, and older people still others. A state of hunger can also influence perception, since the same food that is unpleasant to the sated may seem pleasant to the hungry. Dispositions cause much variance in perception, and it is not possible to establish a criterion by which to determine in what dispositions true impressions are received. It can only be observed that one more readily assents to present appearances than to those not present.<sup>53</sup>

According to the fifth mode, perception is altered owing to differences in positions, distances, and locations. The same porch seems to have different shapes when viewed from different points, and a tower that appears quadrangular from a close point of view may seem round from a distance. A shining lamp appears bright in the dark but dim in the sunlight. An oar that looks straight when out of the water seems bent when placed in the water. A painting that seems smooth when lying flat may appear to have recesses and projections when inclined at a forward angle. The necks of doves appear to have different colors depending on the angle at which they are viewed. The appearances perceived from one location, distance, or

<sup>50</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.40-78.

<sup>51</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.79-91.

<sup>52</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.91-99.

<sup>53</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.100-117.

position are not necessarily more valid than those perceived from any other.<sup>54</sup>

The sixth mode is based on admixtures. Objects are perceived not singly, but always in combination with other things. One's complexion appears to be of one color in warm air and of another color in cold air. The same sound seems different in dense air than in rare. A body is heavy in the air but light in water. Since one cannot separate an object from all circumstances with which it is mixed, it is not possible to determine its real nature.

The sense-organs themselves contribute to the admixtures. Objects seen are not perceived apart from the liquids and membranes of the eyes. A sound heard is altered by the size and shape of the auditory canal. The organs of taste and smell are influenced by substances that reside there. And to the perceptions apprehended by the senses, the mind itself adds an admixture. One must therefore suspend judgment regarding the essence of external objects.<sup>55</sup>

The seventh mode is based on the quantity and composition of the objects perceived. For example, silver filings appear to be white when seen by themselves, but they look black when united as a mass. A whole block of marble seems yellow, but a single chip is considered white. Pebbles that seem rough when they are scattered from one another appear soft when combined in a heap.

Both food and wine affect the body in different ways depending on the quantity taken. In general, things that normally seem healthful become harmful in immoderate quantities, and substances usually considered harmful may cause no ill effect in a minute quantity. One can observe the appearance or effect of the objects in the given quantity, but one must suspend judgment concerning their real nature.<sup>56</sup>

The eighth mode is based on relation. The appearance of an object is relative to both the subject observing and to its own conditions and circumstances. The other modes are demonstrations of the mode of relation, since they describe how certain relationships affect perception. Since everything appears to be relative to something else, one must suspend judgment on the true quality of any single object.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.118-23.

<sup>55</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.124-28.

<sup>56</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.129-34.

<sup>57</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.135-40.

The ninth mode involves differences in perception according to constant or rare occurrence. A comet is regarded as a divine portent because of its rare appearance while the sun is viewed with little amazement. Earthquakes are less alarming to one who is accustomed to them than to one experiencing them for the first time. Water would seem very precious if it were rare, and if gold were scattered about as a common substance, it would not seem nearly so precious as it does now.<sup>58</sup>

The tenth mode, based on ethics, is concerned with ways of life, habits, laws, mythical beliefs, and dogmatic assumptions. Since these vary considerably among different peoples, one can observe the appearance of a thing in respect to a particular law, habit, tradition, and so forth, but one cannot determine its true essence. Sextus Empiricus gives many examples of different ethics among the various groups of people known to him.<sup>59</sup>

#### *Agrippa and later modes*

Agrippa, who lived later than Aenesidemus and before Sextus Empiricus, added five modes to the Skeptic method.<sup>60</sup> Sextus Empiricus points out that these modes were intended to complement rather than supersede the ten modes.

Of these five, the first mode is based on discrepancy. When one finds among both the common people and the philosophers that an unending conflict has arisen concerning an object (so that one can neither choose the thing nor reject it), he must suspend judgment.

The second mode, based on regress *ad infinitum*, pertains when something applied to a matter as a proof needs a further proof to establish its own validity, and this it turn requires another proof, and so on. It is necessary to suspend judgment, since there is no point from which to begin the argument.

The third mode is based on relativity and is basically the same as the eighth of the ten modes. The appearance of an object is dependent on the subject perceiving and on the accompanying perceptions.

The fourth mode is based on hypothesis. This occurs when one is caught in a series of proofs that demands regress

<sup>58</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.141-44.

<sup>59</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.145-62.

<sup>60</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.164-69.

*ad infinitum* and so takes an unproven assumption as a point on which to establish the argument.

The fifth mode is based on circular reasoning and is used when the proof and the subject of inquiry require mutual affirmation. Since one cannot be deduced without the assumption of the other, judgment is suspended about both.

A set of two modes was added later, but it is not clear whether they were intended to be an addition to the modes already in use or whether they were a reduction of another set. According to these modes, everything must be proven either through itself or through something else. Nothing, however, can be proven through itself because of discrepancies in sense perception and logic; nothing can be proven through something else because arguments of this sort can be reduced either to regress *ad infinitum* or to circular reasoning.<sup>61</sup>

#### Skeptic Expressions

The first book of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* also contains a discussion of the meanings and uses of various expressions and phrases peculiar to Skeptic thought. It is uncertain how early in the tradition the Skeptic expressions originated, but they are central to understanding the Skeptic point of view. The expression "not more" (οὐ μᾶλλον) is elliptical for "not this more than that," meaning that one view is not necessarily more valid than another. "Non-assertion" (ἀφασία) is the refusal to make definite assertions or denials. Other terms indicate this attitude of non-assertion, such as "perhaps" (τάχα), "possibly" (ἔξεστι), and "maybe" (ἐνδέχεται). The phrase "I suspend judgment" (ἐπέχω) indicates that one is faced with apparent conflicts and does not know which to disbelieve. When one says "I determine nothing" (οὐδὲν ὀρίζω), he means that he does not put anything forward with assent. The expressions "all things are undetermined" (πάντα ἐστὶν ἀόριστα), "all things are non-apprehensible" (πάντα ἐστὶν ἀκατάληπτα), "I am non-apprehensive" (ἀκαταληπτῶ), and "I apprehend not" (οὐ καταλαμβάνω) are all somewhat similar and in general indicate the refusal of one to make assertive statements concerning things, since their true nature cannot be known. The phrase "to every argument an equal argument is opposed" (πάντι λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται) means that all dogmatic statements that have been investigated seem to be opposed by equally credible statements. Sextus Empiricus is careful to point out that the Skeptic makes no assertion re-

<sup>61</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.178-79.

garding the truth of any of these expressions and that they are intended merely as indications of how things seem to be.<sup>62</sup>

#### Skeptic Aims

According to Sextus Empiricus, the aim of the Skeptic is *ataraxia*<sup>63</sup> in things according to opinion and moderate feeling (μετριοπάθεια) in things inevitable.<sup>64</sup> The founders of Skepticism began the pursuit of philosophy for the purpose of judging the appearances and comprehending which were true and which false, so as to have *ataraxia*. But they encountered discord and, being unable to judge which appearances were true or false since the arguments seemed to be of equal strength, accordingly suspended judgment. After suspension of judgment, *ataraxia* in matters of opinion followed.<sup>65</sup>

The Skeptic function is one of setting phenomena and concepts in opposition to one another, and 't is through a recognition of the equipollence of the opposing arguments that one comes, first, to a suspension of judgment and, after that, to *ataraxia*.<sup>66</sup> The aim of Sextus Empiricus in his treatments of various subjects is not to affirm or deny anything with a view to persuading, but to place in opposition to every argument an equal argument.<sup>67</sup> As a result of this system, one seems to stop dogmatizing.<sup>68</sup>

Suspension of judgment does not mean that the Skeptic necessarily subscribes to idleness on the basis that all is vain and useless.<sup>69</sup> According to Sextus Empiricus, the Skeptic follows a principle in accordance with appearances, which turns one toward living in reference to the customs, laws, and ways of life of one's country and in reference to one's own passions.<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere, he says that the life is regulated by four forces: (1) the guidance of nature, by which one is capable of sensation and thought; (2) the constraint of the

<sup>62</sup>A detailed discussion of the Skeptic expressions is contained in Sextus Empiricus P. 1.187-209. The translations used here are in *Sextus Empiricus*, 1:107-21.

<sup>63</sup>On *ataraxia*, see n. 29 *supra*.

<sup>64</sup>Such as hunger, pain, cold, etc.

<sup>65</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.12, 26.

<sup>66</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.8.

<sup>67</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.18.

<sup>68</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.12.

<sup>69</sup>Note, for example, the remarks on the life of Timon made by Diogenes Laertius. See pp. 7-8 *supra*.

<sup>70</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.17.

passions, by which hunger leads one to food or thirst to drink; (3) the tradition of laws and customs, by which one accepts that it is good to live piously and bad to live impiously; (4) the instruction of the arts, by which one is not inactive in the arts that he accepts.<sup>71</sup>

Though one lives according to appearances he does not use phenomena as a basis for making assertions about the underlying objects.<sup>72</sup> The various treatises of Sextus Empiricus are addressed to those who dogmatically make affirmations about non-evident things. In the second and third books of the *Pyrhonian hypotyposes*, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how Skeptic methods are to be used in respect to what were considered by some schools to be the major divisions of philosophy: logic, physics, and ethics.<sup>73</sup>

#### *The Adversus mathematicos*

The *Adversus mathematicos* is comprised essentially of two parts. Books 7-11, often cited as the *Adversus dogmaticos*, are a further refutation of the three divisions of philosophy--in addition to what is found in Books 2 and 3 of the *Pyrhonian hypotyposes*. Books 7 and 8 are more specifically called *Adversus logicos*, Books 9 and 10 *Adversus physicos*, and Book 11 *Adversus ethicos*.

Books 1-6 of the *Adversus mathematicos* are refutations of the μαθηματικοί (or professors) of the six subjects known as the cyclical studies that made up the basic ancient educational curriculum.<sup>74</sup> These six subjects were grammar, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology,<sup>75</sup> and music, and the individual books are accordingly entitled *Adversus grammaticos*, *Adversus rhetores*, *Adversus geometras*, *Adversus arithmeticos*, *Adversus astrologos*, and *Adversus musicos*.

Sextus Empiricus reports that a stand against the μαθηματικοί had been undertaken by two schools, the followers

<sup>71</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.23.

<sup>72</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 1.19.

<sup>73</sup>In M. 7.16, Sextus Empiricus defines those who divide philosophy in this way as Plato, Xenocrates, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics.

<sup>74</sup>On the cyclical studies in antiquity, see Hermann Koller, "Εγκύκλιος παιδεία," *Glotta* 34 (1955): 174-89; and Henri Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948), pp. 243-56.

<sup>75</sup>The distinction between astronomy and astrology is obscure at this time.

of Epicurus and the followers of Pyrrho. Epicurus claimed that the μαθήματα (or subjects of study) were of no aid in the perfection of wisdom. He was believed by many to have taken such a posture because of his own lack of education and culture. The followers of Pyrrho (as Sextus Empiricus explains), however, adopted their point of view not because of a dogmatic assertion that these subjects are useless in respect to gaining wisdom or because they themselves were lacking in education and experience. They denied the cyclical studies as valid subjects of study for the same reasons applied to philosophy in general. The Skeptics approached the study of philosophy because of the desire of attaining truth, but because they were faced with so much discord, they chose to suspend judgment. So it was, too, with these subjects: they studied them with the aim of mastery but found serious conflicts in the equal strength of opposing arguments.<sup>76</sup>

Sextus Empiricus states that others have undertaken the refutation of these subjects. No other work, however, survives or is known from antiquity that treats such a refutation in the systematic manner of Sextus Empiricus.<sup>77</sup> Sextus Empiricus obviously draws upon various sources for his opposing arguments and for his definitions, but the final product seems to be original.

#### *The Adversus musicos*

##### The Form of the Treatise

Sextus Empiricus's *Adversus musicos* is comprised of an introduction and two major sections in which he discusses the claims of the musicians. In the introduction (paragraphs 1-5), Sextus Empiricus presents three ways in which the term "music" is used--theoretically, practically, and metaphorically--and states that he will be dealing with music in its theoretical aspects. Two approaches will be presented, which--as he claims--accord with two methods used by his predecessors who have undertaken a refutation of the musicians. He treats these in two sections that are rather distinct in nature: the first major section will be more dogmatic and the second more practical. The second type of refutation seems to accord more with Sextus Empiricus's description of the position of the Skeptic and is the sort used primarily in his refutation of

<sup>76</sup>Sextus Empiricus M. 1.1-7.

<sup>77</sup>One might note, however, Seneca *Ep. mor.* 88, where Seneca expounds on the uselessness of the cyclical studies in comparison to wisdom and virtue.

other subjects. Here, he makes use also of the dogmatic methods of his predecessors because, as is explained in the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, the Skeptic must use all ways he can find to cure the conceit of the dogmatists.<sup>78</sup> The type of refutation that Sextus Empiricus calls dogmatic is, moreover, made to conform to Skeptic methods. He demonstrates that for every piece of evidence that is used to prove the value of music, one merely needs to look at another aspect of the same issue to arrive at a contrary conclusion. Perhaps the aspects of music treated in the first section are more suited to a dogmatic manner of argument because they do not naturally invite discussion in the same logical manner with which the technical parts of music are later handled.

The first section (paragraphs 6-27) further divides itself into two parts, each of which consists of a series of statements setting forth the value of music followed by a corresponding series of opposing arguments. The first of these parts (paragraphs 6-22) is concerned primarily with the affects of music on the soul, i.e., its ability to restrain the passions and turn one toward virtue. Some of the examples used by the dogmatists to support this view are as follows. Pythagoras was able to restrain some inebriated youths by exhorting the musician who was with them, an aulete, to play a spondeic melos. The Spartans, who were especially known for their manly spirit, were known to go to battle under the command of music. The epic hero Achilles played the lyre to soothe his anger, and other epic heroes, when leaving on an expedition, would leave their wives in the charge of bards, who, as musicians, could instill discretion in them--just as Agamemnon entrusted his wife Clytemnestra to a bard. As additional support, the musicians point out that men who are great in philosophy, such as Plato, compare the wise man to a musician, since his soul is organized by harmonia, and Socrates considered music of such importance that he was not ashamed to learn to play the lyre even when he was rather old. If poetics is of value, music will be needful since it adorns various types of poetry and arranges it into divisions. In general, music is used when people are rejoicing or grieving and in the religious functions of hymns, feasts, and sacrifices. Sextus Empiricus also points out in this part that, according to the musicians, the ancient and manly music is not to be discredited on account of the new music, which enervates with its fractured mele and effeminate rhythms. Sextus Empiricus accepts this claim and does not aim any arguments against

<sup>78</sup>Sextus Empiricus P. 3.280-81.

the new music, since he would then not be opposing the views of these dogmatists whom he is answering. In the refutation, he sometimes directs his comments pointedly to the old music, e.g., the music of Pythagoras, Achilles, and the bards of epic times. At other times his refutation could be interpreted as pertaining to any type of music, old or new--as when he refutes the concepts of sound and rhythm.

In the refutation that corresponds to the first set of claims made on behalf of music, Sextus Empiricus first presents a general case against music having the inherent capacity to restrain the passions. In this, he makes use of the Skeptic modes of Aenesidemus,<sup>79</sup> pointing out that when one assigns certain qualities to the various sorts of mele, he is making a general conclusion based on a subjective observation. As an example, he points out that many people suppose a crash of thunder signifies a manifestation of a god; yet others, such as the Epicureans, attribute it to natural elements. In the same way, a given melos may seem to have one affect on a man, but that does not mean that the melos is such by nature, for it may affect others in a different manner. Even if music seems to restrain the passions, this may not be because it has the capacity to bestow virtue, but because it distracts the mind.

Sextus Empiricus now presents arguments in opposition to the examples used by the musicians that he has outlined. Pythagoras did not show very good sense in dealing with the intoxicated youths--he should have turned away from them. Moreover, this story seems to point out that auletes have more power than philosophers in the correction of ethoses. The Spartans' use of music when going to war merely demonstrates the capacity of music to distract the mind, just like the use of music in other distressing or toilsome activities, such as carrying heavy burdens or rowing a ship. It has nothing to do with the development of manly courage--one of the virtues--since certain barbarian peoples also use music in battle. The practice of music by Achilles is only another symptom of his amorous and intemperate nature. The effectiveness of the practice of the ancient epic heroes in entrusting their wives to bards does not withstand scrutiny. Agamemnon, upon his return from the expedition to Troy, was slain by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus; and Odysseus, another of the Greek heroes who sailed to Ilium, returned home to find that his wife was being courted by a throng of young suitors. The views of Plato in respect to music are not necessarily

<sup>79</sup>See p. 11 *supra*.

correct, since others who are just as trustworthy, such as the followers of Epicurus, deny these things. Finally, those who would base the usefulness of music on its connection with poetics are simple-minded, since one needs first to establish the need for poetics. Even if one were to assume the usefulness of poetics it does not follow that music, too, is therefore useful, since the utility may be dependent on what is contained in the poetics alone.

The second part of the first section (paragraphs 23-27) treats the importance of music in connection with paideia, philosophy, and ethos. Another series of claims is made on behalf of music: one educated in music takes more delight from things heard musically; men must receive training at an early age by those who are educated in music in order to become good; the same elements pertain to music and to the understanding of the subjects in philosophy; the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia; and certain types of mele form the ethos or character of the soul.

As before, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates that arguments stand in opposition to these views. Although musicians may apprehend music better in its technical aspects, they do not necessarily take more delight in it than the common people: music puts infants to sleep and is said to charm the irrational animals, neither of which is likely to have experience or conception of music. Likewise, just as one enjoys food or wine without being educated in the arts of cookery or wine-tasting, one can enjoy listening to music without musical education. Musical training at an early age does not necessarily make one good, since it can also be argued that music can have a contrary influence, causing the young to be easily led into licentiousness. It is not to be assumed that music and philosophy are defined by the same elements, for Sextus Empiricus says that the idea of the cosmos being ordered in accord with harmonia can be opposed in various ways--though no specific argument is actually presented. Finally, there have already been stated in the previous portion of the treatise arguments that oppose the doctrine of the ethical capacity of music.

In the second, more practical section of the treatise, the technical aspect of music is discussed. This section, too, is comprised to two parts in which Sextus Empiricus outlines the claims of the musicians and then demonstrates arguments that oppose these claims. In the first part (paragraphs 29-42), Sextus Empiricus treats melos, and in the second (paragraphs 43-50), rhythm.

Sextus Empiricus begins the first part on melos with a definition of sound and some of the properties that may be predicated on sound. The term "note," as a specific sort of

sound, is then defined, and homophonous, dissonant, and consonant notes are described. From this point, Sextus Empiricus explains how notes make up the intervals and the melodic genera.

The corresponding refutation demonstrates that the technical theory, which Sextus Empiricus has briefly outlined, cannot be asserted as fact. Notes, intervals, and the genera all depend on the existence of sound, which Sextus Empiricus opposes with a series of arguments. Some of these are based on what other philosophers have postulated concerning sound and sense-objects in general. The major arguments presented here are as follows. According to the Cyrenaics, only the passions (πάθη) exist, but sound is not a passion. Democritus and Plato abolish sense-objects, and sound seems to be a sense-object. The Peripatetics demonstrate that sound is not a body, but the Stoics say that it is a body; therefore--like a cancellation in an algebraic equation--there is no sound. Sextus Empiricus says that he has shown elsewhere that there is no soul, of which the senses are a part; and if there are no senses, there are no sense-objects, such as sound. If sound exists, it is either long or short, but Sextus Empiricus has demonstrated elsewhere that it is neither long nor short. Finally, sound is not said to be, but to become.<sup>80</sup> Since it has been demonstrated that there is no sound, it follows that there is no note nor interval nor the genera nor music.

Similar in method to the first part is the second part, which treats rhythm. Sextus Empiricus begins by analyzing rhythm in its component parts: rhythm is composed of feet, which are in turn composed of arsis and thesis; and arsis and thesis are made of chronoi.<sup>81</sup> The existence of rhythm is, therefore, dependent on the existence of chronos, so Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how the existence of chronos can be opposed. If chronos exists, it is either limited or unlimited, and it is shown to be neither of these. Since it is composed of things that do not exist--i.e., the past, which is no longer and the future, which is not yet--chronos does not exist. Chronos is either divisible or indivisible, but since it can be demonstrated that it is neither, it does not exist. Since chronos does not exist, neither do feet nor rhythms nor the science of rhythms.

<sup>80</sup>On the distinction between being and becoming, see n. 128 in the translation.

<sup>81</sup>"Chronos" generally means "time." See n. 141 in the translation.



One must note that it is not the aim of Sextus Empiricus in the *Adversus musicos* to disprove the value or existence of music. He is addressing the dogmatic theorists and other advocates of the value and nature of music and is demonstrating that it is vain to hold to doctrines that go beyond the acceptance of phenomena.<sup>82</sup> In response to the arguments that support the philosophical and technical theories of music, one can present contrary arguments of equal strength. As a result of the recognition of this, one suspends judgment and approaches ataraxia.

#### Major Parallel Sources

There are other authors of antiquity who introduce material that is also used by Sextus Empiricus in the *Adversus musicos*. Although this does not necessarily prove a source relationship, the possibility of some relationship cannot be eliminated. Major parallels are to be found in the writings of Philodemus, Quintilian, Aristotle, Plutarch, and the music theorists of the Aristoxenian tradition.

#### Philodemus

The parallels in the first section between Sextus Empiricus and Philodemus, an Epicurean philosopher of the first century B.C., have been noted by others.<sup>83</sup> Philodemus takes a stand against the value of music in its ethical and

<sup>82</sup>See the discussion on the aims of Skepticism, pp. 17-18 *supra*.

<sup>83</sup>See especially Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899; reprint ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), pp. 37-43. Many of the parallels are also noted in the edition of J. Mau. Philodemus's *De musica* was unknown in modern times until fragments of it and several other prose works of Philodemus were discovered on charred papyri at Herculaneum. The fragments of the *De musica* have been edited and arranged by Johannes Kemke, *Philodemi de musica librorum quae exstant* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884). On the text of the *De musica*, see also Otto Luschkat, *Zum Text von Philodemus Schrift De Musica*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Hellenistisch-Römische Philosophie, no. 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953). On the work in general, see Annemarie Jeanette Neubecker, *Die Bewertung der Musik bei Stoikern und Epikureern. Eine Analyse von Philodems Schrift De musica*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Griechisch-Römische Altertumskunde. Arbeitsgruppe für Hellenistisch-

philosophical aspects, consistent with the view of Epicurus in respect to the arts that Sextus Empiricus presents.<sup>84</sup> In the surviving fragments of Philodemus's *De musica*, passages can be found that correspond to nearly all of the ideas that Sextus Empiricus presents in the first section of his treatise. As a major exception, there is no fragment in which Philodemus refers to the use of music by Achilles.<sup>85</sup> This exception is not significant when one considers the quantity of Philodemus's *De musica* that is lost and that could have more thoroughly covered this subject as well as others.

Specific examples that are used by both Sextus Empiricus and Philodemus include: Pythagoras restraining some youths by having the aulete play a spondeic melos,<sup>86</sup> Clytemnestra being left in the care of a bard,<sup>87</sup> Socrates being willing to learn to play the lyre in his old age,<sup>88</sup> and the military use of music among the Spartans.<sup>89</sup>

The similarity of vocabulary is also noteworthy in several other places. Both authors discuss the capacity of music to lead a person into licentiousness (εἰς ἀκολασίαν),<sup>90</sup> refer to the use of music in the correction of ethoses (ἠθῶν ἐπανόρθωσις),<sup>91</sup> present the argument that music distracts (περὶσπῆ) the mind rather than restrains the passions,<sup>92</sup> and discuss the use of music in toilsome labors (ἐπύπνα ἐργα).<sup>93</sup>

Römische Philosophie, no. 5 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956) and Warren Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 153-76.

<sup>84</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.1-4.

<sup>85</sup>See Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.9, 19.

<sup>86</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 58.16-31); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.7, 17.

<sup>87</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 20.23-27); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.10, 20.

<sup>88</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 94.31-40); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

<sup>89</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 27.22-28.13); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.8, 18.

<sup>90</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 78.28-32); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.26.

<sup>91</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.24); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.17.

<sup>92</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 95.9-14); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.16.

<sup>93</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 71.7.25-72.8.25); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.18.

One might also compare the phrases ἐγκυκλιωμένη φωνή<sup>94</sup> and κεκλιωμένα μέλη,<sup>95</sup> as used by the two authors.

More general comparisons can be drawn in the discussions of the relationship of music to philosophy,<sup>96</sup> music in the development of the virtues,<sup>97</sup> harmonia in the order of the cosmos,<sup>98</sup> harmonia in the soul,<sup>99</sup> the need of musical education,<sup>100</sup> and whether melos has inherent ethical and other qualities.<sup>101</sup> Philodemus, as an Epicurean and an opponent of music, presents a case against the positive capacities of music. Sextus Empiricus, on the other hand, brings arguments against the musicians in order to demonstrate the need for suspension of judgment.

#### Quintilian

Another figure of significance in connection with the first section of the *Adversus musicos* is Quintilian, a Latin author of the late first century A.D.. In his *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian discusses why one ought to be instructed in the "cyclical education" (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) prior to the serious study of rhetoric.<sup>102</sup> While he implies that the other subjects of education are to be included, Quintilian devotes the majority of his discussion to geometry and music. Many of the points that he uses as evidence of the value of music correspond to those that appear in Sextus Empiricus.

Near the beginning of his discussion of music, Quintilian points out the position of music in its long-established relationship to literature (especially poetry), mentioning in

<sup>94</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 80.25-26).

<sup>95</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.12. One must note that this term is found also in Plutarch *De mus.* 21(1138C).

<sup>96</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 19.32.10, 92.23.37); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6, 23, 27.

<sup>97</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 55.77.15-17, 95.20-21); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6-26 *passim*.

<sup>98</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.6-18, 101.31.10-24); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.23, 27.

<sup>99</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 31.23.1-6, 32.26.9-12); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

<sup>100</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 63.33-38, 66.4.15-67.4.27, 77.12.25-26); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.23, 27.

<sup>101</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 12.1-16, 15.7-9, 63.15-64.43, 71.7.25-35, 72.8.2-3); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6-27 *passim*, 35.

<sup>102</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.

particular Homer and the lyric poets.<sup>103</sup> Sextus Empiricus acknowledges this claim but indicates its faults: if one is to establish the value of music by its connection to poetry, one must first establish the usefulness of poetics.<sup>104</sup> Even if one accepts the usefulness of poetics, this is not necessarily a strong case for music: poetics may benefit and give discretion, but music itself is concerned with melos and is naturally disposed to give delight (not benefit or discretion).

The concept of the harmony of the spheres is introduced in the discussions of both authors. According to Quintilian, the harmony of the spheres is a proof that one should study music in order to understand the words of philosophers, and he names Plato's *Timaeus* as a particular example.<sup>105</sup> Sextus Empiricus claims that the idea can be proved false by a variety of proofs but, unfortunately for the modern reader, does not elaborate on any of these.<sup>106</sup>

The story of Socrates and his willingness to begin the study of the lyre even though rather advanced in years appears in both authors.<sup>107</sup> Although he mentions this in the section where he reviews the arguments that others have given for music, Sextus Empiricus does not deal with it in his refutation.

Quintilian tells how the armies of the Lacedaemonians (as well as those of Rome) were aroused to their martial valor by music, and in close connection with this, he mentions how nature herself seems to have given music the capacity to lighten work. He gives as an example the way in which song encourages a rower.<sup>108</sup> Sextus Empiricus acknowledges these claims but treats them as evidence that music distracts the mind, not that it has any value in the production of manly valor.<sup>109</sup>

Quintilian implies that the value of musical education can be inferred from its having endured to his own day from remote antiquity when Cheiron taught Achilles (that is, by all except those who especially hate proper instruction, and here he may be defending himself against the attitudes of Epicureans or Skeptics).<sup>110</sup> As Quintilian continues, he is

<sup>103</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10.

<sup>104</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.13, 22.

<sup>105</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12-13.

<sup>106</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.27.

<sup>107</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.13; Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

<sup>108</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.14.

<sup>109</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.8, 18.

<sup>110</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.30.

careful to point out that he is referring not to the modern music, which has been weakened and fractured, but to the old music by which the praises of the brave were sung and which even brave men themselves sung.<sup>111</sup> Sextus Empiricus mentions the transmission of music from antiquity and attests that those who defend music say that they support the old and manly music, not the new, which is weak and fractured.<sup>112</sup>

Quintilian refers to the capacity of music to move and soften the emotions or passions (*affectus*). He then briefly relates the story of Pythagoras restraining some youths who were roused to commit an outrage against a respectable household, which he did by ordering the pipe-player to change the measure to the spondaic.<sup>113</sup> Sextus Empiricus relates a similar anecdote about Pythagoras after referring to the capacity of music to restrain the passions, but he says that if the story proves anything, it shows that the auletes have more power than philosophers in correcting ethoses.<sup>114</sup>

As additional support of the power of music, Quintilian refers to the practice of singing an infant to sleep.<sup>115</sup> Sextus Empiricus mentions this practice in a rather different context in paragraph 24, where he uses it as evidence that one need not necessarily be educated in music in order to enjoy it. Both Quintilian and Sextus Empiricus refer to the use of music at feasts and in hymns.<sup>116</sup>

#### Aristotle

In the second major section of the *Adversus musicos*, Sextus Empiricus uses, in addition to the modes that lead to suspension of judgment, logical methods that can be traced to the writings of Aristotle.<sup>117</sup> Aristotle in the *Topica* writes:

If you have not a supply of material for arguing against the thesis, you should look for arguments taken from the

<sup>111</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31.

<sup>112</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.12.

<sup>113</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31-32.

<sup>114</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.7, 17.

<sup>115</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31.

<sup>116</sup>Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.20; Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.14.

<sup>117</sup>Relationships between the thought of Aristotle and Sextus Empiricus have been demonstrated by others. A. A. Long, in "Aristotle and the History of Greek Skepticism," in *Studies in Aristotle*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara, *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*, vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), pp. 79-106, notes

real or generally accepted definitions of the subject under discussion, and if you cannot argue from one, you must argue from several. For it is easier to attack the subject when you have made definitions; for the attack is easier when it is aimed at definitions.<sup>118</sup>

Definitions provide the framework for the second, "more practical" part of the *Adversus musicos*. Sextus Empiricus begins this section by defining music as "a science of the emmelic and ecmelic, the rhythmic and nonrhythmic"<sup>119</sup> and proceeds with a refutation of melos and then of rhythm.

It is again by means of established definitions that Sextus Empiricus builds a basis for his arguments that oppose concepts of melos and rhythm. He puts forth sound as "the sense-object proper to hearing"<sup>120</sup> and a note as "a fall of emmelic sound on one pitch."<sup>121</sup> The concepts of a note as dependent on sound and of sound as a sense-object are central to his refutation of melos. Likewise, it is through definitions of rhythm, foot, and arsis and thesis<sup>122</sup> that Sextus Empiricus lays the foundation for his refutation of rhythm.

The *Topica* also contains this admonition:

You must examine as regards the subject in hand what it is on the existence of which the existence of the subject

parallels between Aristotle and Sextus Empiricus and puts forth the view that Aristotle anticipated Skepticism and defended against it in his writings. Felix Greiff, in *Aristotle and His School* (London: G. Duckworth & Co., 1974), especially pp. 100-106, also notes parallels and expresses the opinion that by the time of Aristotle, a Skeptic movement of the type that Sextus Empiricus describes was fully developed. Note also McMahon, pp. 79-137, where it is demonstrated that the refutations in the writings of Sextus Empiricus are dependent upon the theory of substance as expressed by Aristotle.

<sup>118</sup>Μὴ εὐποροῦντι δὲ ἐπιχειρήματος πρὸς τὴν θέσιν σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁρισμῶν, ἢ τῶν ὄντων τοῦ προκειμένου πράγματος ἢ τῶν δοκούντων, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πλειόνων. ῥᾶν γὰρ ὁρισμένους ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔσται· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς ῥᾶν ἢ ἐπιχειρήσεις" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.4 [11b12-16]; translation in Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, trans. Hugh Tredennick and E. S. Forster, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960], pp. 349-51).

<sup>119</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.28.

<sup>120</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.29.

<sup>121</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.31.

<sup>122</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.44.

depends, or what necessarily exists if the subject exists. For constructive purposes, you must examine what it is on the existence of which the existence of the subject will depend (for if the former has been shown to exist, the subject will have been shown to exist); for destructive purposes, we must examine what exists if the subject exists; for if we show that what is consequent upon the subject does not exist, then we shall have demolished the subject.<sup>123</sup>

It is pointed out at the beginning of the section that if *mele* and rhythms do not exist, neither does music, since its existence is dependent upon them.<sup>124</sup> The procedure that Sextus Empiricus accordingly adopts is one of refuting the existence of *melos* and then rhythm. In his refutation of *melos*, Sextus Empiricus first establishes that the melodic features of music--such as intervals and the genera--are dependent upon notes, which are in turn dependent upon sound. He then demonstrates a series of arguments by which the existence of sound is opposed. In his refutation of rhythm, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates that the parts of rhythm are dependent upon *chronos* and then offers a series of proofs by which it may be shown that there is no *chronos*.

Another method that is essential to the *Adversus musicos* is argument based on ambiguity of term, and it is also outlined in Aristotle's *Topica*:

Furthermore, if a term is used with more than one meaning and it has been stated that it belongs to or does not belong to something, we ought to demonstrate one of the several meanings if it is impossible to demonstrate both. . . . If we wish to argue constructively, we shall show that the attribute belongs in one of its senses, if we cannot show it belongs in both. For destructive criticism,

<sup>123</sup>"Σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου, τίνος ὄντος τὸ προκειμένον ἔστιν, ἢ τί ἔστιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰ τὸ προκειμένον ἔστι--κατασκευάζειν μὲν βουλομένῳ, τίνος ὄντος τὸ προκειμένον ἔστι (ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δειχθῇ ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ προκειμένον δεδελγμένον ἔσται), ἀνασκευάζειν δὲ βουλομένῳ, τί ἔστιν εἰ τὸ προκειμένον ἔστιν· ἐὰν γὰρ δεῖξωμεν τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ προκειμένῳ μὴ ὄν, ἀνρηκότες ἐσόμεθα τὸ προκειμένον" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.4 [111b17-23]; translation in *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, p. 351).

<sup>124</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.28.

we shall show that one of its senses does not belong, if we cannot show that both do not do so.<sup>125</sup>

The refutation of rhythm is based on a refutation of *chronos*, upon which it is established that rhythm depends. The word "*chronos*" is a technical term used by the musicians to designate a unit of rhythm, but it is also used to indicate "time" in a more general sense. The arguments that Sextus Empiricus brings against *chronos* treat it in its more general sense, but the treatise assumes that a refutation of *chronos* in the one sense is also a refutation of *chronos* in its other sense.

In addition to logical methods, Sextus Empiricus draws on the works of Aristotle, whether directly or through an intermediate source, for the material for specific discussions. Examples may be found in the *Politica*, *De anima*, *De audibilibus*, and *Physica*.

When Aristotle, in the *Politica*,<sup>126</sup> raises the question whether education in musical performance is necessary in order to enjoy music correctly and, if it is in fact necessary, to what extent one should be so educated, he suggests an analogy between music and cooking: if it were proper for the young to be educated in music to the same extent as a professional performer, it would also be proper for them to undertake the occupation of cooking.<sup>127</sup> Sextus Empiricus uses this same analogy in an embellished form when he points out that one enjoys tasting food and wine without the arts of cookery and wine-tasting and that, therefore, those who are educated in music may apprehend it better in a technical sense but get no more enjoyment than the common person.<sup>128</sup>

In his *De anima*, Aristotle introduces a discussion on the senses in which he treats the sense-objects proper to each

<sup>125</sup>"Ἐτι ἐὰν πολλαχῶς λέγεται, κείμενον δὲ ἢ ὡς ὑπάρχει ἢ ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχει, θάτερον δεικνύναι τῶν πλεοναχῶς λεγόμενων, ἐὰν μὴ ἅμω ἐνδέχεται. . . . κατασκευάζειν μὲν γὰρ βουλόμενοι δεῖξομεν ὅτι θάτερον ὑπάρχει, ἐὰν μὴ ἅμω δυνώμεθα ἀνασκευάζοντες δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχει θάτερον δεῖξομεν, ἐὰν μὴ ἅμω δυνώμεθα" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.3 [110a23-25, 29-32]; translation in *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, pp. 339, 341).

<sup>126</sup>Aristotle *Politica* 8 (1339a39-40).

<sup>127</sup>Aristotle arrives at the conclusion that children should be educated in musical performance to a point comfortably below professional proficiency.

<sup>128</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.25.

of the particular senses as well as sense-objects in common.<sup>129</sup> Color is proper to sight, sound (ᾠή) to hearing, flavor to taste, and a variety of objects to touch. In contrast, perception of movement, rest, number, form, and magnitude are common to two or more of the senses. This is the background for paragraph 29 of the *Adversus musicos*, where Sextus Empiricus defines sound (ᾠή) as the sense-object proper to hearing and embellishes this with a brief description of the sense-objects proper to the other senses.

Aristotle, again in the *De anima*, notes that the terms "sharp" (ὀξύ) and "heavy" (βαρύ), which are used in music to indicate high and low pitch, are so called by metaphor from the sphere of tangible things.<sup>130</sup> Sextus Empiricus, too, notes how the terms "sharp" and "heavy" take "the reference rather metaphorically from the sense-objects of touch."<sup>131</sup>

In the *Topica* and *De audibilibus*, Aristotle undertakes a discussion of ambiguous terms and how they may be appropriately used of more than one object.<sup>132</sup> It is demonstrated how the terms λευκός (white, clear), γαῖός (gray), and μέλας (black, dim) are applied to both color and sound. This is the basis for the demonstration of the metaphorical application to sound of terms that are more proper to other spheres, which Sextus Empiricus makes in paragraph 30. Just as one may call a sound gray, black, or white--terms properly applied to color--it is acceptable to use the terms sharp and heavy--terms proper to touch--in connection with sound.

At one point in the *Physica*, Aristotle discusses some difficulties in the nature and existence of time (chronos).<sup>133</sup> Because of these difficulties, one would suspect either that there is no chronos at all or that it is obscure and without definition. Sextus Empiricus, in his discussion of chronos, seems to be following Aristotle. For example, Aristotle points out that, of time, one part is past and no longer is, and the

<sup>129</sup>Aristotle *De anima* 2.6.

<sup>130</sup>ταῦτα [τὸ ὀξύ καὶ τὸ βαρύ] δὲ λέγεται κατὰ μεταφοράν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπτόντων (Aristotle *De anima* 2.8 [420a29-30]). This parallel is also discussed briefly by Albrecht Riethmüller, "Die Hinfälligkeit musiktheoretischer Prinzipien nach Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus musicos*," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1975): 188.

<sup>131</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.30.

<sup>132</sup>Aristotle *Topica* 1.15 (106a23-106b12, 107a37-107b5) and *Aud.* (802a2).

<sup>133</sup>Aristotle *Physica* 4.10.

other part is future and is not yet. What is composed from things that do not exist would seem to be incapable of partaking of essence.<sup>134</sup> Sextus Empiricus points out that "the past part is no longer, the future is not yet" and that "what has been composed from nonexistents is nonexistent. Chronos, since it is composed from what has past and no longer is and from what is future and is not yet, will be nonexistent."<sup>135</sup>

Aristotle further states that if something divisible exists, it is necessary that, when it exists, either all of the parts or only some of them exist. Of chronos, some parts are past and others are future, but none of them is: the present is not a part. The part measures the whole and the whole must be composed of the parts, but chronos does not seem to be composed of "nows."<sup>136</sup> Sextus Empiricus seems to be drawing from this and elaborating on it when he says that if chronos is divisible, it will be necessary that it be measured by one of its parts, since everything divisible is measured by a part of itself. One cannot measure chronos by the present, since the past and the future will thereby also be present, and one cannot measure chronos by the past or future because of the same sort of difficulty.<sup>137</sup>

#### Plutarch

The *Adversus musicos* also presents some parallels with passages found in the writings of Plutarch. As an example of the capacity of music to soothe one who is angered, Sextus Empiricus in paragraph 9 quotes some lines from the *Iliad* that describe how Achilles was delighting his heart by playing upon

<sup>134</sup>τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, τὸ δὲ μέλλει καὶ οὐπω ἔστιν . . . τὸ δὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων συγκείμενον ἀδύνατον εἶναι δοξεῖτε μετέχειν οὐσίας (Aristotle *Physica* 4.10 [217b33-218a3]).

<sup>135</sup>τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον οὐκέτι ἔστι τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐπω ἔστι. . . τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνυπαρκτῶν συνεισὼς ἀνυπαρκτὸν ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐκ τε τοῦ παρῳχημένου καὶ μηκέτι ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος μηδέπω δὲ ὄντος συνεισὼς ἀνυπαρκτος ἔσται" (Sextus Empiricus *M.* 49, 47).

<sup>136</sup>πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παντὸς μεριστοῦ, ἄνπερ ἦ, ἀνάγκη, ὅτε ἔστιν, ἥτοι πάντα τὰ μέρη εἶναι ἢ ἓν αὖ τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τὰ μὲν γέγονε τὰ δὲ μέλλει, ἔστι δ' οὐδέν, ὄντος μεριστοῦ. τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐ μέρος· μετρεῖ γὰρ τὸ μέρος, καὶ συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῶν μερῶν. ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὐ δοκεῖ συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν νῦν (Aristotle *Physica* 4.10 [218a3-8]).

<sup>137</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.48.

the lyre.<sup>138</sup> The same four lines are also quoted in Plutarch's *De musica*.<sup>139</sup> Plutarch uses this as evidence that music is fitting for a man, but Sextus Empiricus offers a contrary interpretation: it may be another symptom of the amorous and intemperate disposition of Achilles.<sup>140</sup>

As a demonstration that one need not have musical experience in order to enjoy music, Sextus Empiricus says that "the irrational of the animals are charmed by the aulos and syrinx (so dolphins, as the account goes, delighting in the melodies of auloi, swim toward ships as they are being rowed)."<sup>141</sup> Plutarch, in *Quaestiones convivales*, points out that many irrational animals are charmed by music, just as stags are charmed by syringes. He goes on to quote a passage of Pindar that uses the image of the melos of auloi moving a dolphin.<sup>142</sup> And in *Septem sapientium convivium*, Plutarch remarks that dolphins are charmed by auloi and mele and that they delight in swimming alongside a boat as it is being rowed to the accompaniment of song and the sound of an aulos.<sup>143</sup> The similarity of vocabulary in these two passages may indicate a common source. Both authors specify irrational animals (τὰ ἄλογα), use the verb κηλεῖται (are charmed), mention specifically the syrinx and aulos, and speak of dolphins that, while taking delight (τερπόμενοι, τερπόμενα), swim toward or beside (προσνήχονται, παρανήχονται) boats as they are being rowed.

<sup>138</sup>Homer *Iliad* 9.186-89.

<sup>139</sup>Sextus Empiricus does not quote the last half of line 189 as Plutarch does, which clarifies that Achilles was singing the glorious deeds of men (ἄλκιος δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν).

<sup>140</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.19.

<sup>141</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.24.

<sup>142</sup>ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μουσικῇ πολλὰ κηλεῖται τῶν ἁλόγων, ὥσπερ ἔλαφοι σύριγγιν, . . . ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος φησι κελυβισθῆαι πρὸς ψῆδην

ἀλλέου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν·

τὸν μὲν ἀκύνμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει

αὐλῶν ἐκύνει· ἐρατὸν μέλος

(Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 7.5.2 [704F-705A]). The last three lines are Pindar fragment 235 (Schroeder) or 125 (Bowra).

<sup>143</sup>ἔτι περ οὖν οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἰκέως καὶ φιλανθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθάνοντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς ζῶσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα κληθεέντας αὐλοῦς ἢ τισι μέλεσι. τοῦτ' ἂν ᾗδη πάντες ἴσμεν, καὶ παρανήχονται τοὺς ἐλαυνομένους πρὸς ψῆδην καὶ αὐλὸν ἐν εὐδύῳ πορεύεαι τερπόμενα (Plutarch *Septem sapientium convivium* 162F).

A third parallel with Plutarch occurs in paragraph 38, when Sextus Empiricus is constructing a proof that there is no sound. Part of his argument is based on the position of the Peripatetics and Stoics in respect to sound. According to the Peripatetics, sound is a body, but according to the Stoics it is not a body. Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* contains a brief discussion where these doctrines of the two schools are presented and explained, one right after the other.<sup>144</sup>

#### Aristoxenian theorists

For the technical aspects of music, Sextus Empiricus seems to draw primarily from the theorists of the Aristoxenian tradition. For example, the division of music into the seven parts of genera, intervals, notes, scales, tonoi, modulation, and melic composition is Aristoxenian.<sup>145</sup> Sextus Empiricus states in paragraph 1: "[music] is a science concerned with melodies, notes, rhythmic compositions, and parallel subjects"; it is in connection with this sense of "music" that Aristoxenus is mentioned.

The definition of a note found in Aristoxenus's *Harmonica* is "φωνῆς πῶσις ἐπὶ μίαν τάσιν," and the definition as found in the later Aristoxenian theorists is based on this.<sup>146</sup> Likewise, Sextus Empiricus defines a note as "ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς πῶσις ὑπὸ μίαν τάσιν."<sup>147</sup>

The discussions of Sextus Empiricus on the subjects of consonant and dissonant notes, intervals, and the three melodic genera are also based on the theory of Aristoxenus.<sup>148</sup>

#### The Manuscripts

The *Adversus musicos* of Sextus Empiricus survives in twenty-eight manuscripts, ranging from the fourteenth century through the seventeenth century, and in the preparation of the present edition, microfilms of twenty-five of these were used (on the codices not available, see pp. 108-9 *infra*). The contents and general features of these twenty-five manuscripts are described below in the order of their authority for the establishment of the text of the *Adversus musicos*. The order of authority is approximate, based on a consideration of fami-

<sup>144</sup>Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.20 (902F-903A).

<sup>145</sup>See n. 2 in the translation.

<sup>146</sup>See n. 103 in the translation.

<sup>147</sup>Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.31.

<sup>148</sup>See nn. 105, 109, 110, 115, 117 in the translation.

lies and subgroups of manuscripts rather than each individual manuscript. In the transcription, diacritical marks have been corrected or changed to conform to modern convention, and iota subscripts have been added where they were omitted. Orthography, however, has not been corrected and is consistent with the manuscripts.

## F

Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11

i, 348 ff., 28 x 20.5 cm., chartaceous, 2 columns, 30 lines  
8 September 1465 by Thomas Prodromites

1. 1v-2r *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant*  
*inc.*: Τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττά  
εἶσι· συνεκτικά· συναύτια· ἢ συνεργά·  
*exp.*: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις ἢ φυσικὴ μετα-  
βολὴ ἢ αὐξήσις ἢ μείωσις ἢ γένεσις ἢ φθορά:
2. 2v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν ὑπο-  
τυπώσεων  
3r-26r Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ πρῶτον:  
*inc.*: Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἢ εὖρεσιν ἐπακο-  
λουθεῖν εἰκόσ, ἢ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . .  
*exp.*: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-  
ταγμα:  
Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
3. 26r-v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν  
ὑποτυπώσεων>  
26v-54v Πυρρ[ο sup. 1in.]ωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων· τῶν εἰς  
τρία τὸ δεύτερον:  
*inc.*: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-  
τικοὺς μετέλθομεν, . . .  
*exp.*: . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν  
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα· τέλος· τέλος  
Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων, δεύτερον:
4. 54v Τάδε ἔνεστι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν ὑπο-  
τυπώσεων:  
55r-86r Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ τρίτον:  
*inc.*: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης  
φιλοσοφίας, . . .  
*exp.*: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ  
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:  
Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον: [in marg.  
sup.]
5. 86r *inc.*: Ὡ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλεόν  
οὐδέν, . . .

- exp.*: . . . τὰ πρώτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης  
κατέγνωσ:
6. 86r-119v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:  
*inc.*: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-  
ρησιν . . .  
*exp.*: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ὃ  
δεῖ λέγειν:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
  7. 119v-130r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς  
*inc.*: Τοῖς περὶ γραμματικοῦ διεξοδευθεῖσιν  
ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς  
λέγειν . . .  
*exp.*: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-  
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
  8. 130r-141v Πρὸς γεωμέτρους: τέλος:  
*inc.*: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος  
. . .  
*exp.*: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοῖς γεωμέ-  
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
  9. 141v-144v Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς·  
*inc.*: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν, ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς  
συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .  
*exp.*: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-  
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
  10. 144v-153r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:  
*inc.*: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται  
ζητῆσαι. . . .  
*exp.*: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν  
ἀποδώσομεν:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους· ἥτοι μαθη-  
ματικούς:
  11. 153r-159r Πρὸς μουσικούς·  
*inc.*: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν  
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .  
*exp.*: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα  
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:  
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
  12. 159r-202v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ  
πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:  
*inc.*: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως  
χαρακτήρ . . .

- in the margin. T has μύλου while T<sup>2</sup> has indicated μύλωνος in the margin.
- 142.2 συμπαταγουσῶν] The Chouet edition has the reading συμπαταγουσῶν and indicates that συμπαταγουσῶν is found in the margin. T has συμπαταγουσῶν while συμπαταγουσῶν is written in the margin by T<sup>2</sup>.
- 142.16-17 τοὺς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως] The edition has τοὺς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως but indicates that ἀκαίρους τοὺς μεθύοντας is found in the original text. T<sup>2</sup> has written τοὺς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως in the margin and ἀκαίρους τοὺς μεθύοντας is in the original scribal hand.
- 144.13 οὐ παράδοξον] The Chouet edition accepts the reading οὐ παράδοξον and indicates that ἀπαράδοξον is the original reading of the manuscript. T<sup>2</sup> has written οὐ παράδοξον above the line, and ἀπαράδοξον is the reading of the original hand.
- 146.15 ἀσύμφορον] The edition reads ἀσύμφορον and indicates that ἀσύμφορον was written by the original scribe. T<sup>2</sup> has written ἀσύμφορον in the margin, and ἀσύμφορον is the reading of the original.
- 148.7 & 150.5 τέρπεται/τέρπεσθαι] The Chouet edition reads τέρπεται and τέρπεσθαι, respectively, and indicates that τρέπεται and τρέπεσθαι are the readings of the original. The original hand of T has written τρέπεται and τρέπεσθαι while T<sup>2</sup> has written in the margin τέρπεται and τέρπεσθαι.
- 158.8 ὥς] ὥς is the reading adopted in the edition, and it is indicated that ὥ is the original reading of the manuscript. T<sup>2</sup> has written ὥς and ὥ is the original reading.
- 160.7 γεῦσιν] The reading of the edition is γεῦσιν, and it is indicated that γεύσει is the reading of the original. T<sup>2</sup> has indicated γεῦσιν above the line, but γεύσει is the reading of the original.
- 168.2 εἶχεν] The Chouet edition reads ἔχει and indicates that εἶχεν is to be found in the margin of the manuscript. T has ἔχει in the original body of text, and T<sup>2</sup> has written εἶχεν in the margin.
- 170.1 ἅλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως] The edition has the reading ἅλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως and indicates that ἅλλ' ὥς δέ τις κἀκεῖνως is the original reading of the manuscript. T<sup>2</sup> has written ἅλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως in the margin while ἅλλ' ὥς δέ τις κἀκεῖνως is the original reading of the manuscript.
- 178.1 ἀνύπαρκτον] The edition accepts the reading ἀνύπαρκτον and indicates that ἀνυπαρκτιον is the

- original reading of the manuscript. T<sup>2</sup> has written ἀνύπαρκτιον in the margin, and the original scribe wrote ἀνυπαρκτιου.
- 178.8 αὐτοῦ] The Chouet edition reads αὐτοῦ while indicating that αὐτῶν is the original reading of the manuscript. T<sup>2</sup> has written αὐτοῦ, and the original scribe wrote αὐτῶν.

In addition to emendations noted in connection with the Hervetus translation above, there is other evidence of the influence of the Latin translation on the Greek edition. At 156.6, all of the manuscripts have the reading οἱ ῥυθμοὶ, but the 1621 edition has emended this to οἱ ἀριθμοὶ. The Hervetus translation renders this phrase as "numeri." While the Latin "numerus" is equivalent to ἀριθμός, or "number," according to its primary definition, "numerus" also means "rhythm." The editors of the 1621 edition apparently misconstrued the phrase and adopted the reading οἱ ἀριθμοὶ in consideration of Hervetus's "numeri."

*Fabricius (1718; revised edition, 1841)*

The edition of Io. Albertus Fabricius (1718; revised ed., 1841) cites three manuscripts: Savilianus (manuscript S of the present edition), Vratislaviensis (B), and Cizensis (C). Fabricius did not examine the manuscript of the Savile collection himself but obtained readings taken by Io. Frederic Winckler, who had translated the first part of the manuscript into English.<sup>172</sup> It seems, however, that the readings Fabricius obtained did not include the *Adversus musicos*, since the Savile manuscript is never cited for a reading in this treatise.

Fabricius was aware of several other manuscripts that contained the works of Sextus Empiricus, but he considered an examination of the aforesaid three to suffice.<sup>173</sup> In the prefatory pages of his edition, Fabricius criticizes the inaccuracy of the Hervetus translation; the Latin translation that is included in his edition uses the Hervetus version as a foundation but incorporates many changes.<sup>174</sup>

Although Fabricius did not place much trust in the Hervetus translation in general, it did influence the readings of his Greek text. At 152.1, Hervetus added "cibo aut" to

<sup>172</sup>Ibid.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., 1:x.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., 1:x-xi.



make the phrase read "a cibo aut potu aut calore," making it parallel to the previous phrase, "in fame aut siti aut frigore." Fabricius has, accordingly, added the words βρώματος ἢ on the authority of the Hervetus translation to make the phrase βρώματος ἢ πόματος ἢ ἀλέας parallel to ἐπὶ λυγρῇ ἢ δόψει ἢ κρύει. Bekker attributes another emendation of Fabricius to the Hervetus text, although Fabricius himself does not cite Hervetus as an authority for the change. At 138.5, the manuscripts exhibit the phrase μέλη καὶ στάσιμα. Hervetus at this point omits the conjunction, rendering the phrase "modi stabiles." Fabricius also construes στάσιμα as a modifier of μέλη rather than treating the two as parallel nouns and emends the phrase to μέλη τὰ στάσιμα.

Fabricius's Latin version has influenced later editors. At 166.9, all of the manuscripts have the word ἰδωκωτέρας. Fabricius translates this as "specialiores" (unlike Hervetus, who translates it as "proprias"), understanding ἰδωκωτέρας to be a form of εἰδωκωτέρας. The editions of Bekker and Mau show the reading εἰδωκωτέρας without noting that this is not the form of the word that occurs in the manuscripts. The context of the passage, however, may favor understanding ἰδωκωτέρας as "more proper" or "more particular" in contrast to the "common melody" that precedes in the discussion, rather than as "more specific" in contrast to "genus," which is used here as a technical term for a division of the tetrachord.

The edition of Fabricius offers many explanatory annotations and references to parallel passages. These are of considerable interest and are helpful to some extent in illuminating the text, although Fabricius did not have access to Philodemus's *De musica* and fails to mention other important parallel authors, especially Aristotle. Fabricius does, however, refer to authors that are less familiar to modern readers, such as Maximus Tyrius, Symmachus, and Polyaenus. Many of these more obscure references have not been included in the present edition because attention has been devoted primarily to authors that present more relevant parallels.

#### Bekker (1842)

Immanuel Bekker based his edition of 1842 on four manuscripts: Cizensis (C), Regimontanus, Oxoniensis Savilianus (S), and Vratislaviensis (B). He obtained his readings of the Oxford manuscript from the readings noted by Fabricius and examined the other three himself. As in Fabricius's edition, therefore, the Savile manuscript is never cited for the *Adversus musicos*. Bekker states that in addition to these manu-

scripts, he examined some from Munich, Venice, and Florence, but found nothing in them worth reporting.<sup>175</sup>

Bekker suggests many possible emendations, most of which he confines to the critical apparatus. No Latin translation is included in the edition, but Hervetus is often cited as an authority for a reading, a variant reading, or an emendation. Sources of most of the quoted passages are identified, but there are few references to parallel passages in other authors.

The edition included in the Loeb Classical Library, with a translation by R. G. Bury, is based on the edition of Bekker.

#### Mau (1954)

Jürgen Mau, in his edition of the *Adversus mathematicos*, cites readings of twelve manuscripts, eight of which include the *Adversus musicos*. The codices that include the *Adversus musicos* are Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11 (F), Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45 (B), Parisinus gr. 1964 (P), Parisinus gr. 1963 (P2), Berolinensis Phillippicus gr. 1518, Venetus Marcianus gr. 262 (V), Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (C), and Regimontanus gr. 16 b 12. Of these, he obtained the readings of the B, C, and Regimontanus manuscripts from the edition of Immanuel Bekker (Mau remarks in a footnote that he later inspected C and found Bekker's collation to be accurate).<sup>176</sup>

Mau's edition is more authoritative than earlier editions, but it has many emendations that are not necessary. Moreover, some of these emendations are not noted as such, as at 142.1: ὁμοῦως *codd.* ὁμοιος *Mau* and at 166.9: ἰδωκωτέρας *codd.* εἰδωκωτέρας *Mau*. Mau notes sources of quotations and many passages in ancient works that are parallel or similar to the content of the *Adversus musicos*. Most of the passages cited are found in the treatises of Philodemus or other works of Sextus Empiricus.

#### The Present Edition

The present edition aims to present an authoritative text based primarily on the manuscript sources. A careful review of the manuscripts has been made to determine their

<sup>175</sup>Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Sextus Empiricus* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1842), pp. iii-iv.

<sup>176</sup>Mau, 3:v.

relative authority, and the text and punctuation that have been adopted are based on this review. Emendations and conjectures of earlier editors and commentators have been considered and have been adopted where they seemed necessary or appropriate. Otherwise, they have been consigned to the critical apparatus, where the reader may apply them to the text at his own discretion. The paragraphing of earlier editions has been reorganized and renumbered according to the sense and structure of the treatise.

The translation appears on pages facing the text. An effort has been made in the translation to make it faithful to the Greek of Sextus Empiricus and, at the same time, readable in English. The various philosophical and technical terms have been rendered as literally as possible. When the same term occurs more than once in the Greek, it has been translated each time with the same English term, unless this is not sensible in the context of a particular passage. The use of particles and conjunctions has been considered in the logical flow of the treatise, and the translation attempts to show stylistic patterns with accuracy and consistency.

The annotations, which appear as footnotes to the English translation, are intended to elucidate the ideas Sextus Empiricus is treating, to point out parallel sources or other notable passages in authors of antiquity that help to clarify his thought, and to direct the reader to modern secondary literature that further explains and discusses the various musical and philosophical concepts. Sextus Empiricus is addressing those who are already educated in the topics treated,<sup>177</sup> and he assumes a background in the music and philosophy of his time. When he presents the claims of the musicians, therefore, it is not his intention to give a complete technical treatment, and the same is true of his allusions to other philosophical points. Much of the commentary is devoted to providing clarification for readers who cannot be assumed to have the specialized background Sextus Empiricus takes for granted.

<sup>177</sup>Note Sextus Empiricus M. 1.7.

## CONSPECTUS CODICUM ET NOTARUM

### Manuscripts

- F Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11 (1465), I-F1  
 B Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45 (15th century [late]),  
 PL-WRu  
 Me Mertonensis gr. 304 (16th century)  
 S Oxoniensis Bodleianus Savilianus gr. 1 (16th century),  
 GB-Ob  
 Ta Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 158 (B. III. 32) (16th century),  
 I-Tn  
 E Escorialensis gr. 40 (R. III. 6) (16th century), E-E  
 M Monacensis gr. 159 (14th century), D-BRD-Mbs  
 M<sup>2</sup> later hand  
 P Parisinus gr. 1964 (15th century), F-Pn  
 O Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 21 (1541), I-Rvat  
 P4 Parisinus gr. 1966 (16th century), F-Pn  
 R Vaticanus Rossianus gr. 979 (15th century), I-Rvat  
 U Vaticanus gr. 217 (16th century), I-Rvat  
 U<sup>2</sup> second hand  
 U<sup>3</sup> hand of Matthaeus Devarius  
 Fi Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.24 (15th century), I-F1  
 P2 Parisinus gr. 1963 (1534), F-Pn  
 Ve Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. IV/26 (16th century),  
 I-Vnm  
 P6 Parisinus gr. 2128 (17th century), F-Pn  
 Mo Monacensis gr. 79 (16th century), D-BRD-Mbs  
 T Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (B. I. 3) (16th century),  
 I-Tn  
 T<sup>2</sup> hand of Henri Estienne  
 T<sup>3</sup> third hand (17th century)  
 P7 Parisinus Supplementarius gr. 133 (17th century), F-Pn  
 P7<sup>2</sup> second hand  
 V Venetus Marcianus gr. 262 (15th century [end]), I-Vnm  
 C Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (1556), D-DDR-ZZs  
 Es Escorialensis gr. 136 (T. I. 16) (16th century), E-E  
 P3 Parisinus gr. 1965 (16th century), F-Pn  
 P3<sup>2</sup> second hand

- P5 Parisinus gr. 2081 (16th century), F-Pn  
P5<sup>2</sup> second hand  
Va Vaticanus gr. 1338 (16th century), I-Rvat  
Va<sup>2</sup> hand of Matthaeus Devarius

#### Manuscript Families

- b codicis M et familiarum fg consensus  
d codicum FiP7 et familiarum hk consensus  
f codicum BEFMeSTa consensus  
g codicum OPP4RU consensus  
h codicum MoP2P6TVe consensus  
k codicum CEsp3P5Vva consensus  
codd. codicum cunctorum consensus

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#### Notes

- |            |                              |
|------------|------------------------------|
| add.       | added                        |
| ante       | before                       |
| c.         | with                         |
| cett.      | the rest                     |
| ci.        | conjectured                  |
| condemn.   | condemned                    |
| corr.      | corrected                    |
| deest      | is lacking in                |
| del.       | deleted                      |
| dub.       | doubtfully                   |
| edd.       | editions                     |
| em.        | emended                      |
| ex Herv.   | from translation of Hervetus |
| infra      | below                        |
| in marg.   | in the margin                |
| om.        | omitted                      |
| post       | after                        |
| pr.        | first                        |
| sec.       | second, following            |
| sup. lin.  | above the line               |
| transp.    | transposed                   |
| ut passim  | here and there               |
| var. lect. | variant reading              |

## ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΥΣ

1. Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς, καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη Bekk.  
 748  
 τις περὶ μελωδίας καὶ φθόγγους καὶ ῥυθμοποιίας καὶ τὰ παραπλή-  
 σια καταγινόμενα πράγματα, καθ' ἃ καὶ Ἀριστοξένον τὸν Σπινθάρου  
 λέγομεν εἶναι μουσικόν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἢ περὶ ὀργανικὴν ἐμπει-  
 5 ρίαν, ὡς ὅταν τοὺς μὲν αὐλοὺς καὶ ψαλτηριοὺς χρωμένους μουσικοὺς

Tit. Πρὸς μουσικοὺς CMOP3P5P7TVVef Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς  
 μουσικοὺς EsFiPP2P4Va in marg. U<sup>3</sup> Σέξτου [[μουσικοῦ]] Ἐμπειρικοῦ  
 πρὸς μουσικοὺς O Πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς RU Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μουσι-  
 κοὺς P6 Περὶ μουσικῆς in marg. M<sup>2</sup> || 1 Ἡ deest in RU | τριχῶς |  
 διχῶς U || 3 καταγινόμενα d (καταγινόμενα Va) || 4 ἐμπειρίαν  
 codd. (συμπειρία U [ἐμπειρία em. U<sup>3</sup>]) ἐμπειρία ci. Bekk. ||

## AGAINST THE MUSICIANS

1. The term "music" is used in three manners:<sup>1</sup> according to one manner, it is a science concerned with melodies, notes, rhythmic compositions, and parallel subjects<sup>2</sup>--as we say that Aristoxenus,<sup>3</sup> the son of Spintharus, is a musician; according to another manner, it is the science concerned with instrumental experience,<sup>4</sup> as when we name those

<sup>1</sup>For definitions of music (μουσική), cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.4; Bacchius *Intro.* 1.1-2; Cleonides *Intro.* 1; and Anon. Bell. 12 (Najock 5.1-6) and 29 (Najock 9.1-4).

<sup>2</sup>The arrangement of the harmonic division of music into the seven parts of genera, intervals, notes, scales, tonoi, modulation, and melic composition is Aristoxenian. See Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.35-38; but cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 1 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5 (W.-I. 7.9-12). In Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13, rhythmic is divided into five parts: chronoi protoi, genera of metric feet, tempo, modulation, and rhythmic composition.

<sup>3</sup>Aristoxenus was a philosopher and music theorist of the fourth century B.C. and a student of, among others, Aristotle. Although he was a prolific writer--according to the *Suda* he wrote 453 books--all that survive are parts of an *Elements of Harmonics* in three books (probably portions of two treatises on the subject), a portion of his second book on *Rhythmics*, and a number of small fragments. See Louis Laloy, *Aristoxène de Tarente et la musique de l'antiquité* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1904; reprint ed., Genève: Minkoff, 1973); and J. F. Mountford, "Aristoxenus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 118-19.

<sup>4</sup>In Graeco-Roman theory, music is generally divided into two main divisions: theoretical and practical. These broadly correspond to the first two uses of the term "music" that Sextus Empiricus offers here. Cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 1; Anon. Bell. 12-14 (Najock 5.1-13) and 29 (Najock 9.1); and

ὀνομάζομεν, τὰς δὲ ψαλτρίας μουσικάς. ἀλλὰ κυρίως κατ' αὐτὰ  
τὰ σημαινόμενα καὶ παρὰ πολλοὺς λέγεται μουσική.

1 ὀνομάζομεν CP4U | ψαλτρίας O in marg. T<sup>2</sup>f | post ἀλλὰ ci.  
γὰρ Bekk. | post κυρίως ci. μὲν Bekk. || 1-2 κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ] κατὰ  
ταῦτα τὰ ci. U<sup>3</sup> Bekk. || 2 τὰ deest in EsU | παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς  
ci. Bekk. ||

who use auloi<sup>5</sup> and psalteries<sup>6</sup> musicians and female harpers  
musicians. Properly and among the many, "music" is used in  
accord with these very senses.

Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5. The discussion in Aristides Quintilianus outlines the whole of music as follows:

Theoretical	Natural	natural arithmetic
	Technical	harmonic rhythmic metric
Practical	Application	melic composition rhythmic composition poesy
	Expression	instrumental odic theatric

(see Aristides Quintilianus *on Music in Three Books*, trans., with Introduction, Commentary, and Annotations by Thomas J. Mathiesen [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983], p. 17). On science and art in antiquity, see René Schaerer, *Ἐπιστήμη et τέχνη: Étude sur les notions de connaissance et d'art d'Homère à Platon* (Macon: Protat Frères, 1930).

<sup>5</sup>The aulos, the principal wind instrument of Greece in antiquity, consisted mainly of a vertical pipe whose sound was initiated by a double or single reed. Cf. Aristotle *Aud.* (801b33-39, 802a2) and Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13 (1096A) and *De mus.* 36 (1144D-E). For a modern discussion, see Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London: Methuen, 1939; reprint ed., Groningen: Bouma, 1970); Albert A. Howard, "The Αὔλος or Tibia," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 4 (1893): 1-160; idem, "The Mouthpiece of the Αὔλος," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 10 (1899): 19; Helmut Huchzermeyer, *Aulos und Kithara in der griechischen Musik bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit (nach den literarischen Quellen)* (Emsdetten: H. und J. Lechte, 1931); Heinz Becker, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterlichen Rohrblattinstrumente* (Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1966); and Solon Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopaedia* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1978), pp. 42-46.

<sup>6</sup>The psaltery was a stringed instrument of the zither family, played without a plectrum. Cf. Aristotle *Prob.* 19.23 (919b12-13); Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (183C) and 14 (636F); Theophrastus *HP* 5.7.6; and Pollux *Onom.* 4.59. See also Michaelides, pp. 276-77.

2. Καταχρηστικώτερον δὲ ἐνίοτε προσαγορεύειν εἰώθαμεν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τὴν ἐν τινι πράγματι κατορθώσιν. οὕτω γοῦν μεμουςωμένον τι ἔργον φασί, καὶ ζωγραφίας μέρος ὑπάρχει, καὶ μεμουςῶσθαι τὸν ἐν τούτῳ κατορθώσαντα ζωγράφον.

5 3. Ἀλλὰ δὴ κατὰ τοσοῦτους τρόπους νοουμένης τῆς μουσικῆς, πρόκειται νῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀντίρρῃσιν οὐ μὰ Δία πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ ἢ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον νοουμένην σημαίνουσαν· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ ἐντελεστάτη παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας μουσικὰς δοκεῖ καθεστηκέναι.

4. Τῆς δὲ ἀντιρρήσεως, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ γραμματικῆς, διττόν  
10 ἐστὶ || τὸ εἶδος. οἱ μὲν οὖν δογματικώτερον ἐπεχειρήσαν διδάσκειν

Bekk  
749

1 δὲ deest in E || 3 ὑπάρχει O (corr. sup. lin.) || 4 τὸν) τὴν Va || 5 τρόπους deest in P3 (add. in marg. P3<sup>2</sup>) || 6 πρόκειται P6 || ποιῆσαι P6 || 7 σημαίνουμένην ante corr. P6 || 8 ἐντελεστάτη RU (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) | ἄλλας] αὐλλας VaP5 (corr. P5<sup>2</sup>) ἄλλα Es || 9 διττόν] διπλόν BF in marg. P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup> διπλόν γ διπλοῦν vel διττόν in marg. U<sup>3</sup> γράφεται διπλόν T (vide p. 97 supra) διπλοῦν vel διττόν in marg. Va<sup>2</sup> εἶπεν d || 9-10 διττόν ἐστὶ τὸ deest in P6 || 10 οἱ] ὁ T | γραμμα[δογμα sup. lin.]τικώτερον VC ||

2. Sometimes, we are accustomed to refer--rather improperly--with the same word to successful accomplishment in some subject. So, we say that something is musical<sup>7</sup> even if it exists as a part of a painting and that the painter accomplished in this is musical.<sup>8</sup>

3. But even though music is conceived in so many manners, it is now proposed to make a refutation, by Zeus, not against any other music than that conceived in accord with the first sense. For this music, in comparison with the other senses of music, seems to have been established as most complete.<sup>9</sup>

4. The type of refutation, just as in the case of grammar, is twofold.<sup>10</sup> Some undertook to teach rather dogmatically<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup>On the use of the verb "to be made musical," cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 77.25) and Plutarch *Adversus Colotem* (1121F) and *Per.* 5.3 (154E).

<sup>8</sup>On the painting analogy, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 56.6-12) and 3.8 (W.-I. 105-26-106.8). Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.1 (W.-I. 2.18-20) states that it is a function of music to organize harmoniously all things that have a nature. On the use of musical principles to judge things not musical in the proper sense, note Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340a14-18) and Plutarch *De mus.* 41 (1146A-B). See also Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 3 (657D), where μουσικωτάτη (most musical) is used of a two-to-three ratio of water mixed with wine. Music in its broad sense includes all the arts and sciences over which the Muses preside. Thus, the term "musical" (μουσικός) could be used to refer to someone educated generally, whereas "unmusical" (ἄμουσος) was used of one uneducated; cf. Aristophanes *V.* 1074, 1244 and *Eg.* 191-93; Aelian *VH* 4.15; and the scholiast on Aristophanes *Eg.* 188, where "music" (μουσική) is equated with general culture (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία). Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.21 attributes to the Greeks a proverb that the uneducated are far from the Muses and the Graces.

<sup>9</sup>The music that occupied the philosophers and was incorporated into the theory of paideia was a science rather than a practical art. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 7.12 (530D-531C) and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.1, 2.1, 3.27.

<sup>10</sup>It is unclear how this twofold division is extracted from the book against the grammarians (Sextus Empiricus *Adversus mathematicos* [hereafter *M.*] 1).

<sup>11</sup>E.g., the Cynics in Diogenes Laertius 6.104; Epicurus in Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.1-5; and Philodemus, to sections of whose *De musica* a significant portion of the first part of the *Adversus musicos* corresponds. See Introduction, pp. 24-26.

ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαζόν ἐστι μάθημα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μουσική, ἀλλὰ βλαπτικὸν μᾶλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δεῖκνυσθαι ἔκ τε τοῦ διαβάλλεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τῶν μουσικῶν λεγόμενα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ προηγουμένου λόγους ἀνασκευῆς ἀξιουῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀπορητικώτερον πάσης ἀπο-  
 5 στάντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιρρήσεως ἐν τῷ σαλεύειν τὰς ἀρχικὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν μουσικῶν ψήθησαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀνερῆσθαι μουσικὴν.

5. Ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τι τῆς διδασκαλίας χρεωκοπεῖν, τὸν ἐκατέρου δόγματος ἢ πράγματος χαρακτῆρα κεφα-  
 10 λαιωδέστερον ἐφοδεύσωμεν, μήτε ἐν τοῖς παρέλκουσιν ὑπερεκκί-  
 πτοντες εἰς μακρὰς διεξόδους μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκασιότεροις ὑστερ-  
 οῦντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἔκθεσιν, ἀλλὰ μέσῃ καὶ μεμετρη-  
 μένῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ποιοῦμενοι τὴν διδασκαλίαν.

that music is not a necessary subject of learning<sup>12</sup> for good fortune<sup>13</sup> but is a harmful one rather, and they undertook to show this both by bringing into discredit things stated by the musicians and by claiming their leading arguments to be worthy of denial. Others, standing aloof in a more questioning fashion<sup>14</sup> from every such refutation, in shaking the principal suppositions of the musicians thought to abolish the whole of music.

5. For this reason, we too, so as not to seem to minimize anything of the elucidation, will methodically discuss rather systematically the character of each doctrine or subject,<sup>15</sup> neither going beyond the bounds into long expositions on extraneous matters nor falling short with respect to the display of pressing matters in the more necessary areas, but making the elucidation as moderate and measured as possible.

<sup>12</sup>On music not being a necessary subject of learning, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 109.29-37) and Diogenes the Cynic in Diogenes Laertius 6.73. Note Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.30 where he points out that music has continued to be studied from remote antiquity to his day by all except those who despise a legitimate subject of study.

<sup>13</sup>Εὐδαιμονία (good fortune) is important in the argument because it was the aim of some of the major philosophical schools that Sextus Empiricus is undertaking to refute throughout his writings. In connection with εὐδαιμονία, Sextus Empiricus mentions specifically the Epicurean, Stoic, and Peripatetic philosophies in *M.* 11.173ff. (cf. *P.* 3.172-75). On Peripatetic views, see Aristotle, *EN* 10.6 (1176a31); on the Stoics, see Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.6 (Wachsmuth 2:77.16-27); and on the Epicureans, see Epiphanius 1 (in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 588.1-3).

<sup>14</sup>On dogmatic vs. practical arguments, note Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.62. The dogmatic are those demonstrated in this treatise in sections 6-27, the practical in sections 28-50. In this first part (sections 6-27), Sextus Empiricus is using arguments of dogmatists to counter arguments of other dogmatists, which corresponds to the first of the five modes of Agrippa or the second of the ten of Aenesidemus that lead to suspension of judgment. See Introduction, pp. 12, 15.

<sup>15</sup>For the difference between doctrine (δόγμα) and subject (πράγμα), see Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.210. A doctrine is a dogmatic teaching; a subject is an observation based on practical experience.

1 εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μουσικὴ Es || 3 τὸν μουσικὸν CP3P5Vva (corr. in marg. et sup. lin.Va<sup>2</sup>) τὴν μουσικὴν Es || 6 μουσικῶν P3 (corr. sup. lin.P3<sup>2</sup>) | ἀνερῆσθαι | ἀνερῆ FBM ἀρνεῖσθαι P4 || 7 τῆς | τε P5 (corr. sup. lin.P5<sup>2</sup>) περὶ P3 || 8 χρεωκοπεῖν R | δόγματος ἢ πράγματος | τῶν Heintz || 9 ἐφοδεύσωμεν EMerP4Sta || 9-10 τοῖς παρέλκουσιν...διεξόδους μήτε ἐν *deest* in Ta | ὑπερεκκίπτοντες MoT (corr. in marg.T<sup>3</sup>) || 11 ἔκθεσιν, ἀλλὰ | ἔκθεσιν ἀλλὰ κυρίως κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ σημανόμενα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς λέγεται μουσική. ἀλλὰ EsP6 | μέσῃ Es | μετρημένην Ta (corr. sup. lin.) ||

6. Τάξει δὲ ἀρχέτω πρῶτον τὰ ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰωθότα θρυλεῖσθαι. εἴπερ τοῦνυν, φασί, φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδεχόμεθα σωφρονίζουσιν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη καταστέλλουσιν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀποδεχόμεθα τὴν μουσικὴν, 5 ὅτι οὐ βίαιτικώτερον ἐπιτάττουσα ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ μετὰ θελγούσης τινὸς πειθοῦς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων περιγίνεται ὥνπερ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία.

1 ἀρχέτω] ἀρχῇ τῷ 0 (corr. in marg.) || 1-2 εἰωθότα ante παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς d || 2 θρυλεῖσθαι EP4 sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>d || 3 σωφρονίζουσιν Es | ἀνθρωπίνων 0 (corr. in marg.) || 3-4 σωφρονίζουσιν τὸν... μᾶλλον ἀποδεχόμεθα deest in Va || 4 πάθη καταστέλλουσιν] παθήματα στέλλουσιν MoT (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | κατεστέλλουσιν RU | ἀποδεχόμεθα ci. Bekk. || 5 ὅτι om. d (add. in marg. P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>) | ἐπιτάττουσαν Es | θελούσης k || 6 ὥνπερ] ὥν πως P3 ||

6. First in order, let us begin with the things customarily babbled about music by the many. Now if, they say, we accept philosophy since it gives discretion<sup>16</sup> to human life and restrains<sup>17</sup> the spiritual passions,<sup>18</sup> by much more do we accept music because it enjoins us not too violently, but with a certain enchanting persuasiveness<sup>19</sup> prevails over the same effects as does philosophy.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Discretion (σωφροσύνη) is one of the virtues and represents an ordering especially of the epithymetic (appetitive) part of the soul (see n. 91 *infra*). Note Plato *Rep.* 4.8 (430E), where discretion is defined as a certain ordering and continence of certain pleasures and desires; cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 14 (237E). For a survey of the term, see F. E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms: A Historical Lexicon* (New York: New York University Press, 1967), pp. 179-80; and Helen F. North, "Temperance (sophrosyne) and the Canon of the Cardinal Virtues," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, 5 vols., ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 4:365-78.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Plato *Phdr.* 34-38 (253C-257B), where an analogy is drawn between the rational part of the soul and the chariot driver trying to control two horses, which represent the thymic (spirited) and epithymetic (appetitive) parts of the soul--both of which are irrational.

<sup>18</sup>The spiritual passions (ψυχικὰ πάθη) are irrational affects of the soul. The passions are often grouped into four general categories: pleasure, pain, fear, and desire. See Andronicus in *SVF* 3:391 (Arnim 3:95.14-22); Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.7.10 (Wachsmuth 2:88-92); and Peters, pp. 152-55.

<sup>19</sup>On the power of music to arouse or soften the passions, cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31. On music's ability to gradually lead one into a correct condition, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.5 (W.-I. 58.21-23); and on the attempt of the ancients to restrain the motions of the soul by means of hearing and vision, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 59.8-13).

<sup>20</sup>Philosophy prevails over the rational part of the soul, music over the irrational. See, for example, Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.3 and Plutarch *De virtute morali* 3 (441D-E). The idea of a close relationship between music and philosophy is attacked in Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 19.32.10 and 92.23.37). On the affects of music, note Bruno Meinecke, "Music and Medicine in Classical Antiquity," in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (New York: H. Schuman, 1948), pp. 47-95.



7. Ὁ γοῦν Πυθαγόρας μετράκλια ὑπὸ μέθης ἐκβεβαλχευμένα ποτὲ θεασάμενος ὥς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνηδῶτων διαφέρειν, παρήνεσε τῷ συνεπιχωμαζόντι τούτοις αὐλητῇ τὸ σπονδεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπαυλῆσαι μέλος· τοῦ δὲ τὸ προσαχθὲν ποιήσαντος οὕτως αἰφνιδίον μετα-  
5 βαλεῖν σωφρονισθέντας ὥς εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔνηφον.

8. Οὐ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ διαβόητοι Σπαρτιάται μουσικῆς ἀεὶ ποτε στρατηγούσης αὐτῶν ἐπολέμουν. καὶ οἱ ταῖς Σόλωνος χρώμενοι παραινέσεις πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ λύραν παρε||τάσσοντο, ἔνρυθμον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἐνόπλιον κίνησιν.

Bekk  
750

1 μετράκλια P3 | ἐκβαλχευμένα P6 ἐκβεβαλχευσαμένα ante corr.  
Mo || 2 [[ποθε]] πότε S | μηδὲν] μὴ δὲ in marg. T<sup>2</sup>f | παρήνεσαν T  
(corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 3 τῷ] τε Es | αὐτῆς P3 | ἐπ[[αυλῆσαι]]-  
αυλῆσαι P6 ἐπαλῆσαι Va (corr. sup. lin. Va<sup>2</sup>) || 4 τοῦ δὲ τὸ προσα-  
ταχθὲν ποιήσαντος deest in E | ποιήσαντος[ες sup. lin., del.]  
P7 | μεταβαλλεῖν CESFiMoP5P6P7TVNaVeE || 5 σωφρονισθέντας MeS  
sim || 8 παραινέσεις P6 || 9 εὔρυθμον d (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) ἐν  
ρύθμῳ U (εὔρυθμον in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) | ἐνοπλίαν T (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>)||

7. Pythagoras,<sup>21</sup> when he once observed how lads who had been filled with Bacchic frenzy by alcoholic drink differed not at all from madmen, exhorted the aulete who was joining them in the carousal to play his aulos for them in the spondaic<sup>22</sup> melos.<sup>23</sup> When he thus did what was ordered, they suddenly changed and were given discretion as if they had been sober<sup>24</sup> even at the beginning.

8. The Spartans, leaders of Hellas and famous for their manly spirit, would always do battle with music commanding them.<sup>25</sup> And those who were subject to the exhortations of Solon<sup>26</sup> drew up in battle order to the aulos and lyre, making the martial movement rhythmic.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup>For the story about Pythagoras, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 58.16-31) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.32. This story became very popular and was embellished in the Middle Ages. For later versions of the story, see, for example, Boethius *Mus.* 1.1; Iamblichus *VP* 112; and Regino of Prüm *De harmonica institutione* 6. The same story is told also of Damon in Galen *De placitis Hippocrates et Platonis* 5 (Kuehn 5:473) and in Martianus Capella 9.926 (Willis 355.13-16).

<sup>22</sup>This adjective is derived from the Greek word for libation and indicates a melos appropriate for religious occasions--solemn in character and dominated rhythmically by long time values. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.15.

<sup>23</sup>In the specific sense, melos denotes the melodic element of music; in its broader sense, it comprises rhythm, melody, and diction (cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.12; Anon. *Bell.* 29 [Najock 9.4-6]; and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.22).

<sup>24</sup>For music as an antidote to wine (where the doctrine is attributed to Aristoxenus), see Plutarch *De mus.* 43 (1146F).

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 26 (1140C), *Apophthegmata Laconica* 36 (210F-211A), and *Instituta Laconica* (238B); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.14; Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 27.22-28.13); Aristotle *Mu.* 6 (399b2-10); and Polybius 4.20.6.

<sup>26</sup>Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Coniectanea," in *Index scholarum publice et privatim in Academia Georgia Augusta* (Göttingen: W. F. Kaestner, 1884), p. 13, proposes that those who followed the exhortations of Solon were Lydians (not Athenians); cf. Athenaeus *Deip.* 12 (517A) and 14 (627D) and Herodotus 1.17. See also Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 87.20.16-21), where Solon is giving counsel by means of an elegy--a musical-poetic form.

<sup>27</sup>Pyrrhic rhythms and meters (characterized by short time values) were used in war dances and battles. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.15 (W.-I. 35.22-23), 2.6 (W.-I.

9. Καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ σωφρονίζει μὲν τοὺς ἄφρονας ἡ μουσική,  
εἰς ἀνδρείαν δὲ προτρέπει τοὺς δειλοτέρους, οὕτω καὶ παρηγορεῖ  
τοὺς ὑπὶ ὀργῆς ἐκκαλομένους. ὁρῶμεν γοῦν ὡς καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ  
ποιητῇ μνηζών Ἀχιλλεὺς καταλαμβάνεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαποσταλέντων  
5 πρεσβευτῶν

φρένα τερπόμενος φόρμιγγι λιγυρῇ  
καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ· ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν.  
τὴν ἔλετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων, πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας.  
τῇ δ' ἔγε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν,

- 10 ὡς ἂν σαφῶς γινώσκων τὴν μουσικὴν πραγματεῖαν μάλιστα δυναμένην  
περιγύνεσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν διαθέσεως.

10. Καὶ μὴν δι' ἔθους ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥρωσιν, εἴ ποτε  
ἀποδημοῦεν καὶ μακρὸν πλοῦν στέλλοιντο, ὡς πιστοτάτους φύλακας  
καὶ σωφρονιστῆρας τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς μουσικοὺς.

- 15 Κλυταιμνήστρα γέ τοι παρὴν αἰοδός, ᾧ πολλὰ ἐπέτελλεν Ἀγα-  
μέμνων περὶ τῆς κατὰ ταύτην σωφροσύνης. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀἰγισθος παν-  
οὔργος ὦν αὐτίκα τὸν αἰοδὸν τοῦτον

ἄγων εἰς νῆσον ἐρήμην  
κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῦσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι·

- 20 εἴθ' οὕτως ἀφύλακτον λαβὼν τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν δολέθειρε προ-  
τρεφάμενος αὐτὴν ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος.

1 τοὺς] τοὺς Va | ἄφρονας ante corr.P3 || 2 προτρέπει MeSta ||  
3 ὡς deest in CP2 (add. sup. lin.P2) | ὁ deest in P3P4P6 (add.  
ante καὶ sup. lin.P4) | τῷ om.P7 || 4 μνηζών BF μνηζών CESFiP2  
P3P6P7Vh ante corr.P5 || 5 πρεσβευτῶν] πρεσβευτῶν τῶν Va || 6  
τερπόμενος MoT (corr. in marg.T<sup>2</sup>) || 7 καλῇ Es καλῇ δὲ δαλέῃ  
BEFMeSP7 (corr. sup. lin.P7) | δαιδαλέῃ P2 (corr. sup. lin.) |  
ἐπὶ] ἐπεὶ U | ἀργυρον εζυγὸν R || 8 τὴν ἔλετ'] τὴν αἶας ἔλετ' g  
[αἶας del.U<sup>3</sup>] τὴν αἶρεσιν λετ' BF | ἐνάρων] ἐνάρχη Es (corr. in  
marg.) | ὀλέσας h (corr. sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>) || 12 ἥρωσιν sup. lin. F  
εἴρωσιν P4 || 13 ἀποδημοῦεν Bekk. ἀποδημῶν CP5 (c. εν sup. lin.  
CP5<sup>2</sup>) ἀποδημῶ ἐνθου Va ἀποδημῶεν cett. | στέλλοιτο ER στέλλοντο  
Es || 14 αὐτῶν codd. αὐτῶν Bekk. Mau suarum Herv. || 15 Κλυται-  
μνήστρας P4 Κλυταιμνήστρα P6 | ᾧ ἐν O (corr. in marg.) ὡς Ta |  
ἐπέτελλεσεν Es || 20 τὴν οὐσίαν Κλυταιμνήστραν ante corr.Es  
Κλυτέμνεστραν P6 ||

9. Just as music gives discretion to those who are frantic  
and turns the more cowardly toward a manly spirit,<sup>28</sup> so also it  
soothes those who are inflamed by anger.<sup>29</sup> We see how Achilles,  
angry, according to the poet, is found by the ambassadors who  
were sent forth,

delighting his heart in a lyre, clear-sounding,  
splendid and carefully wrought, with a bridge of silver  
upon it  
which he won out of the spoils when he ruined Eetion's  
city.

With this he was pleasuring his heart,<sup>30</sup>  
as if clearly knowing that the musical pursuit is best able to  
prevail over his disposition.

10. Indeed, it was also customary for the other heroes--if  
they ever were away from home and set out on a long voyage--to  
leave behind musicians as the most faithful guardians and  
teachers of discretion to their wives. There was present with  
Clytemnestra a bard to whom Agamemnon gave many commands con-  
cerning her discreet conduct.<sup>31</sup> But Aegisthus, being a rogue,  
immediately

took the singer and left him  
on a desert island for the birds of prey to spoil and  
feed on.<sup>32</sup>

Then Aegisthus, taking Clytemnestra thus unguarded, seduced  
her, after turning her to appropriate the sovereignty of Aga-  
memnon.

62.2-5), and 2.15 (W.-I. 82.20); and Plato *Leges* 7 (815A-B).

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 55.77.15-17). Manly spir-  
it (ἀνδρεία), one of the virtues, represents a proper ordering  
of the thymic (spirited) part of the soul (see n. 91 *infra*).

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Aelian *VH* 14.23; Seneca *De ira* 3.9.2; and Philo-  
demus *Mus.* (Kemke 33.27.8-13).

<sup>30</sup>Homer *Il.* 9.186-89 (translation by Richmond Latti-  
more); this quote appears in a comparable context in Plutarch  
*De mus.* 40 (1145E).

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Homer *Od.* 3.267-68 and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke  
20.23-27).

<sup>32</sup>Homer *Od.* 3.270-71 (translation by Richmond Latti-  
more).

11. Οὗ τε μέγα δυνηθέντες ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ Πλάτων, τὸν σοφὸν ὁμοῖόν φασιν εἶναι τῷ μουσικῷ, τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρμωσμένην ἔχοντα. καθὼ καὶ Σωκράτης καίπερ βαθυγῆρως ἤδη γεγονώς οὐκ ἤδεῖτο πρὸς Λάμπωνα τὸν καθαριστὴν φοιτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ 5 τούτῳ ὀνειδίσαντα λέγειν ὅτι κρεῖττον ἐστὶν ὀφειμαθῆ ἢ ἀμαθῆ διαβάλλεσθαι. Bekk. 751

12. Οὐ χρὴ μέντοι, φασίν, ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν ἐπιτρέπτου καὶ κατεαγίας μουσικῆς τὴν παλαιὰν διασύρειν, ὅτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι

11. Those who have great ability in philosophy, like Plato, say that the wise man is similar to the musician, since he has his soul organized by harmonia.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, Socrates,<sup>34</sup> although he had already come to great old age, was not ashamed to resort to Lampon<sup>35</sup> the kitharist, and to one who reproached him for this, said that it is better to be brought into discredit for being late-learned than unlearned.

12. They say that one must not, of course, disparage the ancient music on the basis of the disreputable and enervating music of the present,<sup>36</sup> since even the Athenians, who gave much

<sup>33</sup>On the soul being organized by harmonia, cf. Plato *Phd.* 85E; *Ti.* 37A and 47C-D; *Rep.* 3.17 (410E), 4.17 (443D-E), and 8.9 (554E); Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.17 (W.-I. 86.20) and 3.24 (W.-I. 125.29-126.27); Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340b18-19) and *De anima* 1.4 (407b30-32); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 4.6; and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 31.23.1-6; 32.26.9-12). The word "harmonia" derives from the Greek verb ἁρμόζω, which means to fit or bind together, and harmonia comes to indicate the state of unlike things brought into an orderly arrangement (see Aristotle *De anima* 1 [407b] and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12). In a strictly musical context, "harmonia" may mean an instrumental tuning, a musical scale, the interval of the octave, a genus of the fourth, or the melodic element of music. When applied to the soul, the term denotes that the parts of the soul--rational, thymic (spirited), and epithymetic (appetitive)--are properly proportioned one to another. See Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Problems of Terminology in Ancient Greek Theory: 'APMONIA,'" in *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman*, ed. Burton Karson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 3-17; and Edward A. Lippman, "Hellenic Conceptions of Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963): 3-35.

<sup>34</sup>On this story about Socrates, cf. Plato *Euthd.* 272 B-C; Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.13; and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 94.31-40).

<sup>35</sup>No musician in antiquity by the name of Lampon is known. There is, however, a musician by the name of Lamprus mentioned in Plato *Menex.* (236A) and Athenaeus *Deip.* 1 (20F), 2 (44D), and 11 (507A). A diviner and oracle-monger named Lampon who lived in the time of Socrates is attested in Plutarch *Per.* 6.2 (154A) and Aristophanes *Aves* 521 (see also the scholiast on Aristophanes *Aves* 521 and 988). Cf. Plato *Menex.* 235E-236A and Cicero *Fam.* 9.22, where Connus, son of Metrobius, is named as Socrates's music teacher.

<sup>36</sup>On the newer music, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 16. 1-36; 80.25) and Aristophanes *Nubes* 970-72. On the music of the

1 μέγα] μὲν γὰρ Va | φιλοφίᾳ P3 || 2 φησὶν P2 || 3 βαθυγῆρως RU (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) || 4 ἔδεῖτο E | καθαριστὴν C | φοιτῶν Va || 5 ἔλεγεν ci. Bekk. | κρεῖττον Va || 6 ἀμαθῆ] μάθη P7 (corr. sup. lin.) | διαβάλλεσθαι VaP5 (corr. P5<sup>2</sup>) || 7 χρῆ] χρῆν M | νῦν deest in P7 (add. in marg.) νοῦν Va ||

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν σωφροσύνης ποιούμενοι καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς τε μουσικῆς κατεληφότες ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον αὐτὴν μάθημα τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παρεδίδοσαν. καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητής, λέγων

- 5 λέξω τοῖνυν βίον ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρεῖχον.  
 πρότερον γὰρ ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύσαντος μηδέν' ἀκοῦσαι,  
 ἔλτα βαδύζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς καθαριστοῦ.  
 ὁθεν εἰ καὶ κεκλασμένοις τισὶ μέλεσι νῦν καὶ γυναικώδεσι ῥυθ-  
 μοῖς θηλύνει τὸν νοῦν ἡ μουσική, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν  
 10 καὶ ἑπανάδρον μουσικὴν.

1 τε om. EFIP3U γε CESP5P7VVah || 2 ἀναγκαϊοτάτην U | μάθημα τοῖς] μαθητοῖς P3 | ἐγγόνους EMeSTa ἐγκόνους BFP4 || 3 παρα-  
 δέδοσαν MoT (corr. sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>) || 5 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν transp. sec. Athenaeus Bekk. Mau | ἐγὼ] ἐγὼν P6 || 6 φωνὴν deest in E | γρύσαντας VaP5 (corr. sup. lin.P5<sup>2</sup>) γρύξαντος P2U<sup>2</sup> vel U<sup>3</sup> γρύσαν O | μηδέν'] μὴ δὲ T (corr. sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>) | μηδέν' ἀκοῦσαι] μηδ' ἐνακοῦσαι P6 || 7 ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς] ταῖς συνοδοῖς P6 ταῖς συνοδοῖς MoT | ἐς] εἰς b | ἐς καθαριστοῦ] εὐκαθαριστοῦ Va κυθαριστοῦ ante corr. P4 || 8 κεκλασμένοι P4 κεκλασμένους P7 (corr. in marg.) ||

forethought to discreet conduct and also comprehended the dignity of music, handed this down to their descendants as a most necessary subject of learning.<sup>37</sup> A witness of this is the poet of the old comedy, who says

I will tell, therefore, of the life that I originally provided to mortals;  
 For it was necessary, first, that no one hear the voice of a muttering child;  
 Next, that one proceed in an orderly manner on the way to the place of the kitharist.<sup>38</sup>

For this reason, even if the music of today weakens the mind with certain fractured mele<sup>39</sup> and effeminate rhythms,<sup>40</sup> this has nothing to do with the ancient and manly music.

ancients as compared with later corruptions, see Plato *Leges* 2 (669B-D) and 3 (700A-E) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31. Themistius *Or.* 33 (Dindorf 440) relates how Aristoxenus rejected the effeminate music of his own day, preferring the more manly music of the ancients. On the breakdown of the ancient style, see the discussion in Isobel Henderson, "Ancient Greek Music," in *Ancient and Oriental Music*, ed. Egon Wellesz, New Oxford History of Music, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 393-98; and Walther Vetter, "Griechenland," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5 (1956): 859-62.

<sup>37</sup>On music being handed down as a subject of education, cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 27 (1140D). Education in ancient Athens was centered around music and gymnastics; note Plato *Rep.* 3.17-18 and see Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948), pp. 74-86; and François Lasserre, "L'Éducation musicale dans la Grèce antique," in *Plutarque de la musique, texte, traduction, and commentaire* (Olten, Lausanne: URS Graf-Verlag, 1954), pp. 11-95.

<sup>38</sup>The first line of this quote is from Telecleides fragment 1 (Kock). It is found in Athenaeus *Deip.* 6 (268B) where it is rendered λέξω τοῖνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρεῖχον. Cf. Aristophanes *Nubes* 961: λέξω τοῖνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδεῖαν ὡς διέκειτο. The other two lines are from Aristophanes *Nubes* 963-64, which appear in editions of Aristophanes as follows: πρῶτον μὲν ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύξαντος μηδέν' ἀκοῦσαι/ἔλτα βαδύζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς καθαριστοῦ.

<sup>39</sup>On the term "fractured mele," cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 21 (1138C). "Mele" is the plural of "melos."

<sup>40</sup>On the characters of various rhythms, see Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.15.

13. Εὔπερ τε ἡ ποιητικὴ βιωφελὴς ἐστὶ, ταύτην δὲ φαίνεται  
κοσμεῖν ἡ μουσικὴ μερίζουσα καὶ ἐπὶ δὸν παρέχουσα, χρειώδης  
γενήσεται ἡ μουσική. ἀμέλει γέ τοι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ μελοποιοῦ  
λέγονται, καὶ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη τὸ πάλαϊ πρὸς λύραν ᾗδετο. ὥσαύ-  
5 τως δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς μέλη καὶ στάσιμα, φυσικὸν  
τινα ἐπέχοντα λόγον, ὁποῦά ἐστι τὰ οὕτω λεγόμενα·

γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ  
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,  
ἡ δ' ὕγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίας  
10 παραδεξαμένη τῦκτει θνατοῦς,  
τῦκτει δὲ βορὰν φύλα τε θηρῶν,  
ᾗθεν οὐκ ἀδύκως  
μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

1 ἡ] οἱ CP5Vva | φένηται [φρένηται ante corr.] E || 2 κοσμεῖν]  
κοσμεύουσα Es | μερίζουσα codd. μελίζουσα ci. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> Fabr. |  
ἐπὶ δὸν Es | παρέχουσα ἐπάδειν χρειώδεις Va (corr. Va<sup>2</sup>) || 3  
ἀμέλει P5Va | καὶ deest in b | ποιη[[τικῇ]]ταὶ C || 4 λέγοντα  
P6 | [[τὸ]] τὸ P6 | πάλαϊ παλαιὸν c. var. lect. in marg. πάλαϊ  
P4 | πρὸς deest in O | ᾗδετο P6 || 5 καὶ (sec.) | τὰ Fabr. || 6  
ἀπέχοντα C || 8 γεννήτωρ P3 γενέθωρ P6 || 9 ᾗδου γροβόλους γόνας  
νοτίας Va | ὀγροβόλους B ὀγροβόλους MeStaE ὕγρο, βόλους R |  
νοτίας deest in P3 (add. sup. lin. P3<sup>2</sup>) νοτιαίας O || 10 παρα-  
δεξαμένη T παραδεξάμενοι O || 11 δὲ deest in d (add. in marg.  
P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>) | βορὰν ante corr. P2 || 12 ἀδύκων P4 || 13 πάντων  
deest in M | πάντων μήτηρ transp. P4 ||

13. If poetics is indeed useful for life and music seems  
to adorn this by arranging it into divisions and making it fit  
for singing, music will be needful.<sup>41</sup> Of course, the poets too  
are called makers of melos,<sup>42</sup> and the epics of Homer in ancient  
times were sung to the lyre.<sup>43</sup> In like manner are the mele and  
the stasima<sup>44</sup> by the tragedians, which contain a natural ra-  
tio,<sup>45</sup> such as the stasima so spoken:

Greatest Earth and divine Ether,  
He is the begetter of men and gods;  
And she, while receiving water-bearing  
Drops of moisture, bears mortals;  
She bears food and races of beasts;  
Wherefore not unjustly is she esteemed  
As the mother of all.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup>On the relationship between music and poetics, note  
Aristotle *Po.* 1.4-12. Poetics as a whole includes musical  
accompaniment, though some specific forms may be without the  
melodic element. See Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10 and 1.10.29;  
and cf. Iohannes Tzetzes *Scholía Aristophanis Pluti* at v. 11  
(Koster 4: 11.12-14b), where music is said to comprise all of  
the logical, poetic, and theatrical arts. See also Carnes  
Lord, *Education and Culture in the Political Thought of Aris-  
totle* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp.  
89-92; and Hermann Koller, *Musik und Dichtung im alten Griechen-  
land* (Bern, München: Francke, 1963). On the role of music in  
tragedy, see Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic  
Festivals of Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); and  
Vetter, "Griechenland," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*  
5 (1956): 856-59.

<sup>42</sup>E.g., in Athenaeus *Deip.* 1 (3C) and Plato *Prt.* 326A.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 3 (1132C); Athenaeus *Deip.* 14  
(638A); and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10.

<sup>44</sup>On stasimon, see Aristotle *Po.* 12 (1452b23): "a melos  
of the chorus that is without anapests and trochees"; the  
*Suda* (Adler 4:425.20); and the scholiast on Aristophanes  
*Ranae* 1281: "a species of melos, which the choral dancers sing  
while standing."

<sup>45</sup>That is, a natural relationship between the text and  
the music that would accompany it.

<sup>46</sup>Euripides fragment 839 (Nauck).

14. Καθόλου γὰρ οὐ μόνον χαίρόντων ἐστὶν ἄκουσμα, ἀλλ' ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ εὐωχαῖς καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις ἢ μουσικῇ· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ζῆλον τὴν διάνοιαν || προτρέπεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ λυπομένων παρηγόρημα· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πενθοῦσιν αὐλοὶ μελω-  
5 δοῦσιν οἱ τὴν λύπην αὐτῶν ἐπικουφίζοντες.

Bekk  
752

15. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς· λέγεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ προχεύρου διδόμενον τὸ φύσει τῶν μελῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι διεγερτικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δὲ κατασταλτικὰ. παρὰ γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν τὸ τοιοῦτο γίνεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τῆς βροντῆς  
10 κτύπος, καθὰ φασιν Ἐπικουρείων παῖδες, οὐ θεοῦ τινος ἐπιφάνειαν σημαίνει ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἰδιώταις καὶ δεισιδαίμοσι τοιοῦτος εἶναι δοξάζεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων σωμάτων ἐπ' ὕψους ἀλλήλους

14. In general, music is heard not only from people who are rejoicing, but also in hymns,<sup>47</sup> feasts,<sup>48</sup> and sacrifices to the gods. Because of this, it turns the heart<sup>49</sup> toward the desire for good things. But it is also a consolation to those who are grief-stricken; for this reason, the auloi playing a melody for those who are mourning are the lighteners of their grief.<sup>50</sup>

15. Such are the things on behalf of music. Against these things, first, it is said that it is not conceded offhand that by nature some of the mele are exciting to the soul and others are restraining, for such a thing is contrary to our opinion. Just as the crash of thunder--as the followers of Epicurus say--does not signify a manifestation of a god<sup>51</sup> (but to the common people and the superstitious it is supposed to be such) since when other bodies likewise strike one against another, a

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 57.24-25) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.20. A hymn, in Graeco-Roman music, is an address to a deity in poetic form (usually hexameters) meant to be sung. Examples of hymns that survive from antiquity are the two Delphic Hymns to Apollo inscribed in stone and the Hymns of Mesomedes. Editions and transcriptions of these hymns can be found in Egert Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, no. 31 (Nürnberg: Hans Carl, 1970), pp. 13-31, 58-76; Karl von Jan, *Musici scriptores graeci* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1895-99; reprint ed., Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962), pp. 432-49, 454-63; and Henderson, pp. 363-69, 372-73. See also W. K. C. Guthrie, "Hymns," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 534.

<sup>48</sup>Cf. Cicero *Tusc.* 4.2.4; Euripides *Med.* 192-96; and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.19-20. On the origin and nature of feasts in antiquity, see Louis Gernet, "Ancient Feasts," in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, trans. John Hamilton, S. J. and Blaise Nagy (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), pp. 13-47.

<sup>49</sup>The word "heart" is used throughout as a translation of "διάνοια." It denotes the part of the mind that is moved by music and may be considered what might today be called the "feelings" or the emotional part of the intellect.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 57.29-31); Matthew 9.23; and Aristotle *Prob.* 19.1 (917b19-21).

<sup>51</sup>On the source of thunder according to the Epicureans as opposed to common superstition, see Lucretius *De rerum Natura* 6.96-159; cf. Epicurus, *Ep.* 2.100 and Diogenes Laertius 10.100.

2 εὐωχαῖς codd. εὐχαῖς ci. Wilam. Mau || 3 τὸν deest in O (add. sup. lin.) | προτρέπεται Es προτρέπει S || 4 λειπομένων P6 | παρηγόμα P6 | αὐλοῖ] αὐλοῦς P4 αὐλοῦς Heintz Mau αὐλῶ Bury || 5 οἱ del. Wilam. | ἐπικουφίζοντες U || 6 μὲν ὑπὲρ...πρὸς ταῦτα rep.Va | πρὸς R || 8 εἶνα Es | διαγερτικὰ O (corr. sup. lin.) διενεργητικὰ P4 || 9 ἡμετέραν Va | τοιοῦτον CMP4 | ὥσπερ] ὡς ὥσπερ O | γὰρ deest in CP3P5VVa sup. lin. Es || 10 τύπος E | κατὰ P7U (corr. U) | Ἐπικουρίων RU (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) || 11 ἰδιώταις P5Va ||

προσκρουσάντων ὁμοίως ἀποτελεῖται κτύπος, ὥσπερ καὶ μύλου περιλαγμένου ἢ χειρῶν συμπαταγουσῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν μελῶν οὐ φύσει τὰ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ δὲ τοῦτ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσδοξάζεται. τὸ αὐτὸ γοῦν μέλος τῶν μὲν ἵππων  
5 διεγερτικόν ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐν θεάτροις ἀκουόντων οὐδαμῶς. καὶ τῶν ἵππων δὲ τάχα οὐ διεγερτικόν ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ ταρακτικόν.

16. Ἐῖτα μὲν τοιαῦτα ἢ τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς μέλη, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ βιωφελὴς καθέστηκεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι δύναμιν ἔχει σωφρονιστικὴν, καταστέλλει τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ ἡ περισπαστικὴν·  
10 παρδ καὶ ἡσυχασθέντων πως τῶν τοιούτων μελῶν πάλιν ὁ νοῦς, ὡς ἂν μὴ θεραπευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκ τὴν ἀρχῇθεν ἀνακάμπτει διάνοιαν. ὅνπερ οὖν τρόπον ὁ ὕπνος ἢ ὁ οἶνος οὐ λύει τὴν λύπην ἀλλ' ὑπερτίθεται, κάρου ἐμποῦν καὶ ἐκλυσιν καὶ λήθην, οὕτω τὸ ποιδὸν μέλος οὐ καταστέλλει λυκομένην ψυχὴν ἢ περὶ ὀργὴν σεσο-  
15 βημένην τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, περισπᾷ.

17. Ὁ τε Πυθαγόρας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μάταιος ἦν, τοὺς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως σωφρονίζειν βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκκλίνων· εἴτα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπανορθούμενος αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖ πλεῖστον τι δύνασθαι τῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡδῶν τοὺς αὐλητάς.

Bekk.  
753

1 προσκρουσάντων S | ὁμοίως codd. ὁμοίως Bekk. Mau ὁμοίως μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως οὐδὲ ἕως in marg. U<sup>3</sup> | τύπος MeSE | κτύπος, ὥσπερ | κτύπος, καθά φασιν Ἐπικουρεῖων παῖδες ὥσπερ Es | καὶ τοῦ μύλου E | μύλωνος in marg. U<sup>3</sup>d (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) || 2 περιλαγμένου k | συμπαταγουσῶν in marg. T<sup>2</sup>b (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> συμπαταγουσῶν E) || 5 διεγερτικὸν P6 διενεργητικὸν P4 || 6 ἵππων F | ταρακτικὸν MeS ταραττικὸν P6 τα[κ add. sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup>]ραττικὸν P5 τὰ ραττικὸν Va || 7 τὰ τῆς | τὰ πρὸς τῆς E || 9 ἀλλὰ ἢ Shorey ἀλλὰ ἢ P3 ἀλλὰ ἢ Es ἀλλ' ἢ P6 ἀλλ' ὅτι Bury ἀλλὰ ἢ cett. | περισπαστικῶς ci. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> || 10-11 τοιούτων μελῶν... ὑπ' αὐτῶν rep. E || 11 ἀνακάμπτει M || 12-13 ὕπνος ἢ... λύπην ἀλλ' deest in RU (add. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) || 14 μέλος | μέρος Va (corr. sup. lin.) | καταστέλλει | μεταστέλλει MoT (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) | καταστέλλει τι λυκομένην Va | σεσοφισμένην d (corr. in marg. P7<sup>2</sup> et Va<sup>2</sup> et sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 15 περισπᾷ O (corr. in marg.) || 16 Πυθαγορίας Va || 16-17 ἀκαίρως τοὺς μεθύοντας d (corr. sup. lin. P7<sup>2</sup> et in marg. T<sup>2</sup> ἀκαίρου[ω sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup>]ς P5) || 17 ἀκέρως U (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) ἀκέρως R | τοῦτ' | τοῦτο U || 18 αὐτοὺς | αὐτὴν U (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) αὐτῆς P5 (corr. sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup>) αὐτῆς οὖς Va | ὁμολογεῖν Es | δύναται U (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) ||

crash is similarly produced (just as when a millstone is turned round or hands clap), in the same manner, some of the mele of music are not by nature of one sort and others of another sort<sup>52</sup> but are presumed so to be by us. The same melos is exciting to horses but in no way to men<sup>53</sup> when they hear it in theaters--and to the horses, perhaps it is not exciting but disturbing.

16. Second, even if the mele of music are such, music has not been established as useful for life because of this. It is not because it has the power of discretion that it restrains the heart,<sup>54</sup> but rather because it has the power of distraction. Consequently, when such mele are silenced in any way, the mind, as if it were not treated by them, reverts again to the former heart.<sup>55</sup> In this same manner, sleep or wine do not relax grief but heighten it by producing torpor, feebleness, and forgetfulness; thus, a certain type of melos does not restrain a grief-stricken soul or a heart agitated by anger but--if it does anything at all--distracts them.<sup>56</sup>

17. And Pythagoras, in the first place, was foolish in wishing to give discretion to those who were unseasonably intoxicated instead of turning from them.<sup>57</sup> In the second place, by correcting them in this manner, he concedes that the auletes have more power than the philosophers<sup>58</sup> with respect to the correction of ethoses.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup>On mele being a certain sort by nature, note Aristotle Pol. 8.5 (1340a8); Philodemus Mus. (Kemke 12.1-16; 15.7-9; 71.7.25-35; 71.8.2-3); and Hibehe Papyrus 13-17.

<sup>53</sup>This is based on the first Skeptic trope of the ten of Aenesidemus (see Introduction, pp. 11-12).

<sup>54</sup>Refutation of ¶6 supra.

<sup>55</sup>On the heart, see n. 49 supra.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. Philodemus Mus. (Kemke 95.9-14).

<sup>57</sup>Refutation of ¶7 supra.

<sup>58</sup>An aulete, as a professional musician, would be considered a low character, hardly comparable to a philosopher; see Aristotle Pol. 8.4 (1339b8-10) and 8.7 (1341b8-19).

<sup>59</sup>On the correction of ethoses, cf. Philodemus Mus. (Kemke 100.30.24) and Plutarch De mus. 32 (1142E-F). Ethos is the character of the soul (see Aristotle EN 2 [1103a14-26]) and is influenced by music through mimesis; that is, the various elements of music have an ethos of their own, which may be transmitted to the soul of a person by a sort of sympathetic process (Aristides Quintilianus De mus. 2.18). On this process, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Harmonia and Ethos in Ancient Greek Music," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 264-79. On ethos

18. Τό τε τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ λύραν πολεμεῖν τοῦ μικρῷ πρότερον εἰρημένου τεκμήριον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ βιωφελῆ τυγχάνειν τὴν μουσικὴν. καθάπερ δ' οἱ ἀχθοφοροῦντες ἢ ἐρέσσοντες ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιπόνων ὁρῶντες ἔργων μελεοῦσιν εἰς  
5 τὸ ἀνθέλκειν τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον βασάνου, οὕτω καὶ αὐλοῖς ἢ σάλπιγξιν ἐν πολεμοῖς χρώμενοι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τι τῆς διανοίας ἐπεγερετικὸν τὸ μέλος καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ λήματος αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν τοῦτο ἐμνηχάνησαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνθέλκειν ἑαυτοὺς σπουδάζαντες, εἶγε καὶ στρόμβους τινὲς τῶν  
10 βαρβάρων βουκινύζουσι καὶ τυμπάνους κτυποῦντες πολεμοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτρέπεται.

19. Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ λεκτέον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μηνύοντος 'Αχιλλέως· καίτοι ἐρωτικοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἀκρατοῦς οὐ παράδοξον τὴν μουσικὴν σπουδάζεσθαι.

2 μικροῦ P7h | τεκμήριον] τε ἐκ μήριον Va || 3 βιωφελῆ MeS | δ' deest in P2 || 4 ἐπιπόνων P3 | εἰς] εἰ P6 || 5 νοῦν] νῦν S (corr. sup. lin.) | τὸ (sec.) deest in M | βασάνους VaP5 (corr. P5<sup>2</sup>) | post καὶ ci. οἱ Bekk. Mau || 6 αὐλοῦ Ta | ἢ σάλπιγξιν] ἥσται ἔπειξιν U (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) | σάλπιγξ MoT (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 7 μέλο Va | λήματος ci. Chouet animi Herv. λήματος codd. (λήμματος T) || 8 ὑπάρχει O | τοῦτο deest in M | ἐμνηχάνη-  
σατο Ta (corr. sup. lin.) | ἐμνηχάνησαν τὸ S || 9 στρόμβοι E στρου-  
βας Fi | τῶν deest in P6 || 10 βουκινύζουσι RU (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>)  
βουκινύζοντες ci. Bekk. | τυμπάνους P5 (corr. sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup>)  
τυμπάνει[οι sup. lin.] Va | πολεμοῦντες Me (corr. sup. lin.) ||  
13 καίτοι] του deest in h (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | ἀκρατοῦς Ta  
(corr. sup. lin.) | οὐ παράδοξον] ἀπαράδοξον T (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) ||

18. That the Spartans do battle to the aulos and lyre is proof of what was said a short while before,<sup>60</sup> but not of music being useful for life.<sup>61</sup> Just as those who bear burdens or row or do some other of the toilsome works beat time<sup>62</sup> in order to draw the mind away from the trial of the work, so also those who use auloi and salpinxes<sup>63</sup> in battles contrived this not because there was a certain melos stimulating to the heart<sup>64</sup> and this melos was a cause of manly courage but because they were eager to draw themselves away from the agony and disorder (if indeed certain of the barbarians blow conches and do battle while beating on drums<sup>65</sup>). But none of these turns one toward a manly spirit.

19. The same things must be said also of the angry Achilles.<sup>66</sup> And further, since he was amorous and intemperate,<sup>67</sup> it is not contrary to expectation for him to be eager about music.

in general, see Lord, pp. 203-19; Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899; reprint ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968); and Warren Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). See also n. 83 *infra*.

<sup>60</sup>I.e., that music distracts.

<sup>61</sup>Refutation of 18 *supra*.

<sup>62</sup>E.g., Aristophanes Ra. 1073 and V. 909, where the cry given is "rhyppapae" (ῥυππαπαῖ); cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 71-72.8); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.16; and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4.

<sup>63</sup>Cf. Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (184A). The salpinx was a trumpet-like instrument of Etruscan origin, consisting of a straight tube of bronze or brass. See Michaelides, pp. 294-95.

<sup>64</sup>On the use of instruments as incitements, cf. Seneca *De ira* 3.9.2 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 61.26-62.19).

<sup>65</sup>This reflects a belief on the part of many Greeks that the barbarians, or non-Hellenes, were naturally inferior to those of Greek nationality. The argument here is that the barbarians would not have the capacity for manly spirit, one of the virtues. On this attitude in general, cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 1.1.5 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 62.25-63.24).

<sup>66</sup>Refutation of 19 *supra*.

<sup>67</sup>On the deleterious effects produced by the immoderate use of music, see Plato *Rep.* 3.18 (411A-B) and Aristides Quintilianus 2.6 (W.-I. 59.15-21). Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 40 (1145D-F), where the story of Achilles playing his lyre to console himself is used as evidence that music is fitting for a man;



20. Νῆ Δύ', ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ψόδοις  
 τισὶν ὡς σῶφροσι φύλαξι παρακατετίθεντο, καθάπερ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν. ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη μυθολογούντων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν,  
 5 εἴτα καὶ παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῦς διελεγχόντων· πῶς γάρ, εἴπερ μουσικῇ  
 περὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἐπιστεύετο, τὸν μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονα  
 ἢ Κλυταιμνήστρα ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐστίας κατέκτανεν ὥσπερ "βοῦν ἐπὶ  
 φάτνῃ," εἰς δὲ τοῦς Ὀδυσσεύς οἴκους ἢ Πηνελόπη ὄχλον ἄσωτον  
 ἐπιδέχεται μειρακίων, ἀεὶ δὲ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν ἐλπιδοσκοποῦσα  
 καὶ παραύξουσα μοχθηρότερον καὶ χαλεπώτερον τῆς ἐπὶ "Ἰλιον  
 10 στρατείας τὸν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ πόλεμον ἤγειρε τῷ γήμαντι;

21. Καὶ μὴν εἰ οὔτε οἱ περὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα μουσικῇν ἀπε-  
 δέξαντο, ῥητέον οὐ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτὴν συντείνεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 ἄλλοι μὴ λειπόμενοι τῆς τούτων ἀξιοπιστίας, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν  
 15 Ἑκκκουρον, ἠρνήσαντο ταύτην τὴν ἀντικούησιν· λέγομεν τούτων-  
 τῶν αὐτὴν ἀσύμφορον εἶναι καὶ  
 ἀργίην, φύλουνον, χρημάτων ἀτημελῆ.

22. Εὐήθεις δὲ εἰσι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς χρεῖαν συμ-  
 πλέκοντες αὐτῇ πρὸς εὐχρηστίαν, ἐπεὶ περ δύναται μὲν τις, ὡς  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοῦς γραμματικοὺς ἐλέγῳ, ἀνωφελῆ διδάσκειν  
 20 τὴν ποιητικὴν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἑλαττον κάκεῖνο δεικνύναι ὅτι ἡ μὲν

Bekk  
754

1 νῆ] μὴ P6 || 2 τισὶν] τοισὶν P6 | παρακατετίθεντο MoT (corr.  
 sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>) παρακατετίθεντο Va παρακατετίθετο C || 3 Κλειται-  
 μνήστραν P5Va | ἥδη] δὴ deest in Va || 4 καὶ deest in P3 || 5 τῶν  
 deest in T || 6 Κλυτεμνήστρα P6 | κατέκτανεν MeS κατέταυτα Ta  
 (corr. in marg.) κατέκτανεν O || 7 οἴκας R | Πηνελόπη MeSP3 || 8  
 τὰς] τοῦς RU τῆς h | ἐλπιδοσκοποῦσαι Mo ἐλπιδοσκοποῦσας T (corr.  
 sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>) || 9 καὶ (sec.) rep.Va | τῆς deest in E | ἐπὶ  
 "Ἰλιον] ἐπὶ Ἰλιον Va (corr. sup. lin.) ἐπὶ ἡλίου EP6 || 10 στρα-  
 τείας FB || 10-11 ἤγειρε τῷ...Πλάτωνα μουσικῇν deest in M || 11  
 post μὴν add. οὐκ Heintz | οὔτε εἰ transp. sup. lin.U<sup>3</sup> γράφεται  
 εἰ οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ, puto οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ in marg.U<sup>3</sup> εἰ οὔτε  
 del.E post οὔτε add. εἰ Va neque si Herv. | οὔτε condemn.  
 Heintz | οὐ] εἰ CP3VP5 (corr. sup. lin.P5<sup>2</sup>) | τὸν deest in d |  
 ἀπεδέξαντο PESMP4OR ἀπ' ἐδέξαντο U (corr. sup. lin.U<sup>3</sup>) || 12  
 οὐ codd., condemn. Heintz expungendum puto in marg.U<sup>3</sup> || 13 ἄλλα  
 EsP3 (co sup. lin.P3<sup>2</sup>) || 14 τὴν deest in RU (corr. in marg.U<sup>3</sup>) |  
 post ἀντικούησιν marginalium legi non potest U<sup>3</sup> | λέγομεν codd.  
 λέγοντες Bekk. Mau dicentes Herv. || 15 ἀσύμφορον d (corr. in  
 marg.P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>) || 16 αὐτὴ μελῇ Va (corr. sup. lin.) ἀτημελῇ  
 MeS || 17 εὐήθης C || 18 αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν Es | εὐχαριστεῖαν P4 ευχρη-  
 στεῖαν ante corr.P3 | ἐπέκπερ] εἰπέκπερ Mo εἰπερ T (corr. sup.  
 lin.T<sup>2</sup>) || 19 ἀνωφελῇ MeS | διδάσκει E || 20 δεικνύνται ante  
 corr.P7||

20. But, by Zeus, even the heroes entrusted their wives to  
 certain bards as guardians who were possessed of discretion,  
 just as Agamemnon entrusted Clytemnestra!<sup>68</sup> Yet this surely  
 derives from men telling mythical tales--who then, immediately  
 afterwards, convict themselves. For if music is indeed trusted  
 for the correction of passions, how is it that Clytemnestra  
 slew Agamemnon at his own hearth like an "ox at the manger"?<sup>69</sup>  
 and how is it that Penelope received into the house of Odysseus  
 a profligate throng of lads and, by always falsely luring and  
 increasing their desires, stirred up for her husband the war  
 in Ithaca more wretched and difficult that the expedition  
 against Ilium?

21. Indeed, even if the followers of Plato accepted music,<sup>70</sup>  
 one must still not say that it tends toward good fortune, since  
 others, too,<sup>71</sup> who are not wanting in trustworthiness on these  
 things, such as the followers of Epicurus, deny this claim.<sup>72</sup>  
 We say, conversely, that it is useless and  
 idle, fond of wine, careless of property.<sup>73</sup>

22. Simple-minded are those who confuse it with the use of  
 poetics in respect to utility,<sup>74</sup> since one can, as we said in  
 the book against the grammarians,<sup>75</sup> teach that poetics is with-  
 out benefit<sup>76</sup> and--not a lesser argument--show that music,

Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.10 (W.-I. 74.14-18), where it  
 is said that Achilles is singing nothing erotic, but is, on the  
 contrary, pondering the feats in arms of former men and sum-  
 moning his soul into a state of manliness; and Julian *Or.* 2  
 (49C), where the use of music as a pastime by Achilles is con-  
 sidered sensible.

<sup>68</sup>Refutation of ¶10 supra.

<sup>69</sup>Homer *Od.* 11.411.

<sup>70</sup>Refutation of ¶11 supra. Cf. Quintilian *Inst.*

1.10.15.

<sup>71</sup>The second Skeptic trope of the ten of Aenesidemus  
 (see Introduction, p. 12).

<sup>72</sup>Theon, speaking in Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13  
 (1095C-E), reports that Epicurus would go to the theatre to  
 hear performers on the kithara and aulos but would not endure  
 theoretical and philosophical discussions on music. Cf. Cicero  
*Fin.* 1.21.71-72.

<sup>73</sup>Euripides fragment 184 (Nauck).

<sup>74</sup>Refutation of ¶13 supra.

<sup>75</sup>M. 1.280, 296-98.

<sup>76</sup>Note the fourth Skeptic trope of the five of Agrippa  
 (see Introduction, pp. 15-16). If the usefulness of music

μουσική περὶ μέλος καταγινόμενη μόνον τέρπειν πέφυκεν, ἡ δὲ ποιητικὴ καὶ περὶ διάνοιαν καταγινόμενη δύναται συνωφελεῖν τε καὶ σωφρονίζειν.

23. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἐγκεχειρημένα λόγος ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος·  
 5 προηγουμένως δὲ λέγεται καὶ κατὰ μουσικῆς ὡς εἴπερ ἐστὶ  
 χρειώδης καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο λέγεται χρειοῦν, παρόσον μουσικευ-  
 σάμενος πλεῖον παρὰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας τέρπεται πρὸς μουσικῶν  
 ἀκροαμάτων, ἢ παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι μὴ προπαι-  
 δευθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἢ τῷ τὰ αὐτὰ στοιχεῖα τυγχάνειν τῆς  
 10 μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν πραγμάτων εἰδήσεως, ὅποδόν τι

2 συνωφελῆν ante corr. Mo || 4 ἐγκεχειρημένα P6 ἐγκεχειρισμένα g ||  
 5 προηγουμένου Va | καὶ condemn. Bekk. | ὡς] καὶ P3 (corr. sup.  
 lin. P3) || 6 χρειώδης Ta (corr. sup. lin.) | καὶ] ἦτοι ci.  
 Bekk. | post παρόσον ci. ὁ in marg. U<sup>3</sup> Bekk. || 7 τρέ[ερ sup.  
 lin.] πεται Mo τρέπεται T (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) || 8 κροαμάτων S  
 (corr. sup. lin.) | ἀγαθοὺς VCESFIP3P5 (corr. P5<sup>2</sup>) P7 (corr. sup.  
 lin. P7<sup>2</sup>) h (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | προπαιδευθένταν Va προπαιλευ-  
 θέντας C || 9 αὐτῶν] c. ἥς sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup> Va αὐτῆς in marg. U<sup>3</sup> | τὰ  
 αὐτὰ] ταῦτα Va | αὐτὰ] τοιαῦτα M | στοιχεῖ Es || 10 post καὶ ci.  
 τῆς in marg. U<sup>3</sup> Bekk. Mau | ὅποδόν] ὅποδο εἰς S ||

since it is concerned with melos, is disposed by nature only to give delight, while poetics, since it is concerned with heart,<sup>77</sup> can both be beneficial and give discretion.

23. Such is the argument against the things that have been discussed. But it is also a leading argument in respect to music that if indeed it is needful, it is said to be useful in respect to the following: either insofar as one educated in music takes more delight--in comparison to the common people--from things heard musically,<sup>78</sup> or insofar as it is not the case that men become good if they have not received early training<sup>79</sup> under those educated in music, or because the same elements pertain to music and to the understanding of the subjects in philosophy<sup>80</sup> (such as we said

rests on the usefulness of poetics, the usefulness of poetics must first be assumed.

<sup>77</sup>On heart (διάνοια), see n. 49 *supra*. Poetics, since it uses words, is less abstract than music apart from words and may be more obvious in its sway of the feelings or disposition.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1341a13-16).

<sup>79</sup>On musical training at an early age, see Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1340b36-40); Plato *Rep.* 7 (536D); Plutarch *De mus.* 41 (1146A-B); and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 77.12.25-26). See also Yves Langlois, *L'Éducation des enfants par la musique d'après Platon*, 2d ed. (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1914). On the nature of musical education in antiquity, see Lord, pp. 68-104; and Anderson, *passim*; Kathleen Munro, "The Role of Music in the Development of Educational Thought among the Early Classical Greeks" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1937); and Anton Friedrich Walter, "Die ethisch-pädagogische Würdigung der Musik durch Plato und Aristoteles," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1980): 388-415.

<sup>80</sup>On the kinship of music and philosophy, cf. Plato *Phd.* 4 (61A) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.9-10. The relationship of music to philosophy is one of the major themes of Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.*; note especially Book I, sections 1-2 and Book III and the introduction and commentary in Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, pp. 14-57. See also Johannes Lohmann, "Die griechische Musik als mathematische Form," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957): 147-55; idem, *Musiké und Logos: Aufsätze zur griechischen Philosophie und Musiktheorie zum 75. Geburtstag des Verfassers am 9. Juli 1970*, ed. Anastasios Giannarás (Stuttgart: Musikwissenschaftliche Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1970); and idem, "Der Ursprung der Musik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959): 148-73, 261-91, 400-403.

καὶ περὶ γραμματικῆς ἀνώτερον ἐλέγμεν· ἢ τῷ κατὰ ἀρμονίαν διοικεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον, καθὼς φάσκουσι Πυθαγορικῶν παῖδες, δεῖσθαι τε ἡμᾶς τῶν μουσικῶν θεωρημάτων πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων εὐδῆσιν, ἢ τῷ τὰ ποιὰ μέλη ἡθοποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν.

- 5 24. Οὕτε δὲ τῷ τοῦς μουσικοῦς πλεόν τέρπεσθαι παρὰ τοῦς ἰδιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων λέγουσι· ἂν χρειοῦν ἡ μουσική. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἰδιώταις ἡ τέρψις καθάπερ αἱ ἐπὶ

1 καὶ deest in Va || 2 καθὼς] κα deest in T (add. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) | Πυθαγορικῶν] κ deest in T (add. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 4 τῷ] τῶν ante corr. Mo | ποιὰ] τοιαῦτα P3 (corr. sup. lin. P3<sup>2</sup>) | μέλη] μέλου O (corr. sup. lin.) || 5 οὕτε] ἄτε P6 | τῷ] τὸ E τοῦ ante corr. Mo | τρέ[ερ sup. lin.] πεσθαι Mo τρέπεσθαι T (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | παρὰ τοῦς deest in S || 6 ἂν[[χρειοῦν] χρειοῦν S || 7 ἀναγκαῖον P3 | ἰδιώταις] ἡ ἰδιώτας P4 | ἡ τέρψις] αἱ τέρψεις ci. Bekk. | αἱ Bekk., ci. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> καὶ codd. ||

above concerning grammar<sup>81</sup>) or because the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia<sup>82</sup> (just as the disciples of Pythagoras assert) and we need the musical theorems for the understanding of the whole universe, or because certain types of mele form the ethos of the soul.<sup>83</sup>

24. But music would not be said to be useful because musicians take more delight than the common people from the things heard. First the delight is not necessary for the common

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Sextus Empiricus M. 1.72.

<sup>82</sup>The harmonic order of the cosmos is a concept developed especially by the Pythagoreans, according to which, the features of the cosmos (earth, moon, sun, planets, stars) are ordered by the same mathematical principles by which the harmonic division of music is ordered. This was believed by many to be an acoustical phenomenon as well as a physical arrangement (note Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.20). Cf. Sextus Empiricus M. 4.6; Plato *Ti.* 35B-36B; Theon of Smyrna *Mathematica* 3.15-16; Aristotle *Mu.* 5 (396b15-34) and 6 (399a12-14); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12; Hippolytus *Haer.* 1.2.2; and Plutarch *De mus.* 44 (1147). Note also Archytas fragment 1 (Diels/Kranz 1:432.4-8) in which it is remarked that geometry, numbers, sphaeric, and music are kindred to astronomy. For modern commentary, see Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato Translated with a Running Commentary* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1937), pp. 66-94; Ernest G. McClain, "Plato's Musical Cosmology," *Main Currents in Modern Thought* 30 (1973): 34-42; Jacques Handschin, "The Timaeus Scale," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 3-42; James Haar, "Pythagorean Harmony of the Universe," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, 5 vols., ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 4:38-42; Pierre Boyancé, "Les Muses et l'harmonie des sphères," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de F. Grat* (Paris: Pecquer-Grat, 1946), pp. 3-16; Bartel Leendert van der Waerden, "Die Harmonielehre der Pythagoreer," *Hermes* 78 (1943): 163-99; Théodore Reinach, "La musique des sphères," *Revue des études grecques* 13 (1900): 432-49; and Karl von Jan, "Die Harmonie der Sphären," *Philologus* 52 (1894): 13-37.

<sup>83</sup>Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340a8) and *Hibeh Papyrus* 13-15. See Edward A. Lippman, "The Sources and Development of the Ethical View of Music in Ancient Greece," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 188-209; Walther Vetter, "Ethos," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3 (1954): 1581-91; and Louis Harap, "Some Hellenic Ideas on Music and Character," *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938): 153-68. See also n. 59 *supra*.

λιμῶ ἢ δύνει ἢ κρύει γινόμεναι ὑπὸ πόματος ἢ ἀλέας· εἴτα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχωσι, δυνάμεθα χωρὶς μουσικῆς ἐμπειρίας αὐτῶν ἀπολαύειν. νήπια γοῦν ἐμμελοῦς μινυρίσματος κατακούοντα κοιμίζεται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ζῴων ὑπὸ αὐλοῦ καὶ σύριγγος κηλεῖται,

5

Bekk.  
755

25. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μή ποτε, ὅν τρόπον χωρὶς ὀψαρτυτικῆς καὶ οἶνογευστικῆς ἡδόμεθα ὄψου ἢ οἴνου γευσάμενοι, ὧδε καὶ χωρὶς μουσικῆς ἡσθεύμεν ἂν τερπνοῦ μέλους ἀκούσαντες, τοῦ μὲν οἷ τεχνικῶς γίνεται μάλλον παρὰ τὸν ἰδιώτην ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ἡστικοῦ πάθους μηδὲν πλεῖω κερδαίνοντες.

10

26. Ὡστε οὐχ αἰρετὸν μουσικὴ παρόσον τοῦς εἰδήμονας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τέρπεσθαι συμβέβηκεν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῷ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς σοφίαν· ἀνάπαλιν γὰρ ἀντικρίπτει καὶ ἀντιβαίνει πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφέσεσθαι, εὐαγῶγους εἰς ἀκολασίαν καὶ

15

1 λιμῶν RU (corr. U<sup>3</sup>) | γινόμενον g (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) | ὑπὸ deest in P6 | post ὑπὸ ci. σιτιῶν ἢ in marg. U<sup>3</sup>, add. βρώματος ἢ Fabr. ex Herv. a cibo aut || 1-2 ἢ ἀλέας... ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρ deest in RU (corr. in marg. et in ras. U<sup>3</sup>) || 2 ἐμπειρίας Es || 3-4 κοιμίζεται [[κοιμίζεται]], καὶ E κοιμίζεσθαι U (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) || 4 αὐλοῦ] αὐτοῦ T (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | κηλεῖται FiP3 κυλεῖται ETa || 5 οἷ τε] εἷ γε ci. Bekk. | πρὸς νήχονται B || 6 ἐρισσο- μένοις P3 | ὁποτέρων P6 || 7 ἢ] καὶ Es || 8 ὅν τρόπον μή ποτε transp. Es | ὀψαρτυτικῆς EEsO || 9 οἶνογευστικῆς EMesTa | ἡδόμεθα edd. delectamur Herv. ἡδόμεθα Va ἢ δεόμεθα cett. (em. ἡδόμεθα U<sup>3</sup> sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup> in marg. T<sup>3</sup>) | ὄψους P4 (corr. sup. lin.) | οἴνου ἢ ὄψου transp. M (corr. sup. lin.) || 10 post ἀκούσαντες ci. lac. ?U<sup>3</sup> || 11 post γίνεται add. τοῦ τεχνίτου Heintz | ἀντιλαμβανόμενου Heintz || 12 πλεόν E πλεῖον ci. Bekk. | κερδαίνοντες Heintz κερ[[δαί]] ἢ]- δαίνοντες R || 13 οὐχ αἰρετὸν] οὐ χαίρετὸν Es | αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦς E || 14 πλεῖον] πλεῖστον E || 16 εὐαγῶγος P6 ||

people, as are those delights that come from drink or warmth in a time of hunger or thirst or cold. Second, even if they are necessary delights, we are able to enjoy them without musical experience: infants are put to sleep when they listen to an emmelic cooing,<sup>84</sup> and the irrational of the animals are charmed<sup>85</sup> by the aulos and syrinx<sup>86</sup> (so dolphins,<sup>87</sup> as the account goes, delighting in the melodies of auloi, swim toward ships as they are being rowed). Neither of these is likely to have experience or conception of music.<sup>88</sup>

25. And because of this, perhaps, in the same manner in which we enjoy tasting food or wine without the art of cookery<sup>89</sup> and the art of wine-tasting, so also without the art of music we would enjoy listening to delightful melos. Though on the one hand, the artists apprehend technically better than the common person, on the other, they gain nothing more of the pleasant passion.<sup>90</sup>

26. So, music is not chosen insofar as it happens that those who have an understanding of it delight in it to a greater degree, and indeed, not because it prepares the soul beforehand for wisdom. Conversely, it beats back and goes against the desire for virtue,<sup>91</sup> rendering the young easily led into

<sup>84</sup>Cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.32.

<sup>85</sup>This parallels Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 7.5.2 (704F-705A); cf. Plutarch *De soll. animalium* 3 (961D-E); Aelian *NA* 12.46; and Athenaeus *Deip.* 7 (328F).

<sup>86</sup>Cf. *P.* 1.54, 119; Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13 (1096B) and *De mus.* 14 (1136A-B); and Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (184A). The syrinx was a wind instrument without a reed consisting of one or several pipes. See Michaelides, pp. 314-16.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Euripides *El.* 435; Aelian *NA* 12.45; and Plutarch *De soll. animalium* 36 (984B-C) and *Septem sapientium convivium* 13 (156C) and 19 (162F).

<sup>88</sup>Cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1341a13-16): "Musical education makes it possible for one to rejoice in beautiful mele and rhythms, not only in the common [melos] of music, as some of the animals and even a multitude of slaves and children."

<sup>89</sup>The analogy between musical education and education in the art of cookery is also found in Aristotle *Pol.* 8 (1339a39-40).

<sup>90</sup>Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 63.33-38 and 66.4.15-67.4.27), where the idea is put forth that if music is indeed useful, it is useful to the common people.

<sup>91</sup>Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 78.28-32). One of the main points of Seneca *Ep. Mor.* 88 is that the real aim of

λαγνεῖαν παρασκευάζουσα τοὺς νέους, ἐπεὶ περ ὁ μουσικευσάμενος  
 μολπαῖσιν ἡσθεῖς τοῦτ' ἀεὶ θηρεύεται·  
 ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοις καὶ πόλει γενήσεται,  
 φίλοις τ' οὐθεὺς, ἀλλ' ἄφαντος οἴχεται,  
 5 ὅταν γλυκεῖας ἡδονῆς ἦσσαν τις ᾗ.

27. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ὁρμᾶσθαι  
 ταύτην τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν εἰσακτέον τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν χρειώδης ὡς  
 αὐτόθεν ἐστὶ συμφανές. λείπεται ἄρα τῷ καθ' ἁρμονίαν τὸν κόσμον  
 διοικεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἡθοποιοῦς μέλεσι κεχρησθαι χρειώδη πρὸς  
 10 εὐδαιμονίαν λέγειν αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν. ὦν τὸ μὲν τελευταῖον ἦδη  
 διαβεβλήται ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχον ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἁρμονίαν διοι-  
 κεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ποιητικῶς δεύκνυται ψευδός, εἴτα καὶ ἂν  
 ἀληθές ὑπάρχη, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο δύναται πρὸς μακαριότητα, καθάπερ  
 οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἁρμονία.

2 μολπεῦσιν Es μόλπασιν P6 (corr. sup. lin.) | ἡσθεῖς E ἡθεῖς  
 MoT (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 3 μὲν deest in Va μένοι P5 (corr. in  
 marg. P5<sup>2</sup>) || 4 τ' δ' Bekk. | τε οὐθεὺς EsO (corr. in marg.  
 O) || 5 γλυκεῖαν U || 6 κατὰ ταῦτα F1P2P7Ve ci. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> κατὰ  
 ταῦτα MoP6Tk in marg. U<sup>3</sup> κατ' αὐτὰ b | post οὐδὲ ci. ἐκ τοῦ  
 Bekk., ci. τῷ in marg. U<sup>3</sup> | αὐτῶν rep. MoT || 8 λείπετε Es | τῷ  
 edd. τὸ codd. (deest in M) || 9 τῷ τὸ ME | χρειώδης d (s del.  
 P7) | χρειώδη καὶ πρὸς M || 10 αὐτὴν λέγειν b | ὦν τῶν P4 |  
 ἦδη} ἦδει OPR || 11 οὐχ ὡς P4 || 12 δεύκνυσθαι Es || 13 τοιοῦτον  
 F1M sup. lin. P7h τοιοῦτο ci. Bekk. | μακαριότητα P5Va || 14 ἐν  
 τοῖς} αὐτοῖς P7 (corr. in marg.) | ἁρμονίαν Mo ||

licentiousness and salaciousness, since indeed one educated  
 in music

Taking pleasure in song and dance, he pursues this always;  
 He will be idle both at home and in the city;  
 Even to friends a good-for-nothing, he goes away unseen,  
 Whenever one is slave to sweet pleasure.<sup>92</sup>

27. In accord with these same things, the need for music  
 must not adduce that music and philosophy are defined from the  
 same elements,<sup>93</sup> as is immediately evident. It remains, there-  
 fore, to say that it happens to be needful for good fortune  
 because the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia, or be-  
 cause one uses mele that form ethos. Of these, the last has al-  
 ready been brought into discredit as not being true.<sup>94</sup> That  
 the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia is shown to be  
 false in various ways; even if it is true, such a thing has no  
 power in reference to happiness--just as neither does the har-  
 monia in the instruments.<sup>95</sup>

paideia (of which music is a part) should be virtue. On music  
 and virtue, see Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5.5-6 (1340a14-25). Aristotle  
*EN* 1.13 (1102a5) claims that virtue is necessary for εὐδαιμονία  
 (good fortune); this idea is found also among the Stoics in  
 Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.7.5b5 (Wachsmuth 2:64.9-10); cf. ps.-Plato *Def.*  
 (412D). On good fortune, see n. 13 *supra*. Virtue is a quality  
 of the irrational, but it partakes of reason in the ordering  
 and regulation of the irrational passions. It represents a  
 moderation of the passions rather than a destruction or aboli-  
 tion. Cf. Plutarch *De virtute morali*, esp. 4-12 (443C-452A)  
 and Aristotle *EN* 2. Four virtues commonly mentioned by the  
 philosophers are judgment (φρονήσις), righteousness (δικαιο-  
 οσύνη), discretion (σωφροσύνη), and manly spirit (ἀνδρεία), the  
 latter two of which are frequently brought up in the first part  
 of this treatise. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.24;  
 Plutarch *De virtute morali* 2 (440E-441B); and Plato *Prot.*  
 (329D, 330B) and *Leges* 1 (632E-633A). See G. B. Kerferd,  
 "Arete/Agathon/Kakon," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8  
 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and  
 the Free Press, 1967), 1:147-48; on music and virtue, see Lord,  
 pp. 73-75, 92-96.

<sup>92</sup>Euripides fragment 187 (Nauck).

<sup>93</sup>See n. 20 *supra*.

<sup>94</sup>Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 64.2.19-43).

<sup>95</sup>On the refutation of the existence of a harmonia in  
 the cosmos, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.6-19 and 101.31.  
 10-24). Aristotle *De caelo* 2.9 rejects the idea that the har-  
 monia of the cosmos is an audible phenomenon, but see Aristides

28. Ἄλλα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶδος τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀντιρρήσεως τοιοῦτότροπὸν ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τῶν || τῆς μουσικῆς ἀρχῶν καθαπτόμενον πραγματικωτέρας μᾶλλον ἔχεται ζητήσεως. οὖρον ἐπεὶ ἡ μουσικὴ ἐπιστήμη τίς ἐστὶν ἐμμελῶν τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν ἐνρhythμων τε καὶ ἐκρhythμων, πάντως ἐὰν δεύξωμεν ὅτι οὔτε τὰ μέλη ὑποστατά ἐστὶν οὔτε οἱ ρhythμοὶ τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν πραγμάτων τυγχάνουσιν, ἐσόμεθα παρεστακότες καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀνυπόστατον. λέγωμεν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ μελῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, μικρὸν ἄνωθεν καταρξάμενοι.
29. Φωνὴ τοῦτον ἐστίν, ὡς ἂν τις ἀναμφισβητήτως ἀποδοίῃ, τὸ ἔδριον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς· καθάπερ γὰρ μόνης ὁράσεως ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ μόνης ὁσφρήσεως τὸ εὐωδῶν καὶ δυσωδῶν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἥδη γεύσεως τὸ γλυκέων ἢ πικρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὕτω γένοιτ' ἂν ἔδριον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς ἡ φωνή.
30. Τῆς δὲ φωνῆς ἡ μὲν τίς ἐστὶν ὁξεῖα ἡ δὲ βαρεῖα, μεταφορικώτερον ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀφὴν αἰσθητῶν ἐκατέρου τούτων λαμβάνοντος τὴν προσηγορίαν· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ κεντοῦν καὶ τέμνον

Bekk  
756

28. Such is the manner of the first type of refutation against the musicians, but the second, assailing even the principles of music, consists rather of a more practical inquiry. So, since music is a science of the emmelic and ecmelic, the rhythmic and nonrhythmic,<sup>96</sup> especially if we show that neither do the mele have substance nor do the rhythms pertain to existent things, we shall have proven that music too is without substance. Let us speak first concerning mele and their substance, beginning with some brief preliminaries.

29. Sound is, as one would indisputably define it,<sup>97</sup> the sense-object proper to hearing. Just as it is the activity<sup>98</sup> of sight alone to apprehend colors, and of smell alone to grasp what is sweet-smelling and ill-smelling, and--further--of taste to sense what is sweet or bitter, so sound would be the sense-object proper to hearing.<sup>99</sup>

30. Of sound, one is sharp, another heavy, each of them taking the reference rather metaphorically from the sense-objects of touch. For just as the world<sup>100</sup> refers to what

Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.20 for another explanation. The harmonia of instruments is discussed at some length in Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.17-19.

<sup>96</sup>This definition of music is also found at Sextus Empiricus *M.* 11.186; cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 1.3 (Jan 292.13-14). For definitions of emmelic and ecmelic, see Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring 10.23-25); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.36-38; and Timaeus Locri (101B). Rhythmic is what is characterized by a regular pattern of chronoi ordered by arsis and thesis (see n. 140 *infra*). Nonrhythmic has no such regular order. See Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.14 (W.-I. 32.30-33.7), who also speaks of a rhythmoid type, which shares both in the order of the rhythmic and in the disorder of the nonrhythmic. In music, melody, diction, and bodily motion are organized by rhythemics (Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13 [W.-I. 31.21-22]).

<sup>97</sup>On the view of the Skeptic that definitions are useless, see P. 2.205-12.

<sup>98</sup>On the various parts of the body and their functions, see Aristotle *PA* 1.5 (645b15-20) and 2.1 (646b11-15).

<sup>99</sup>On sense-objects proper to specific senses, as opposed to common sense-objects, such as movement, rest, number, shape, and size, see Aristotle, *De anima* 2.6; cf. Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.10 (900A).

<sup>100</sup>The use of "world" here approximates the meaning of "world" as Heidegger and Gadamer use it, i.e., not the physical

1 τῆς *deest in E* || 2 τοιοῦτο τρόπον *U (corr. U<sup>3</sup>)* || 5 ἐνρhythμων *g* | ἐν ρhythμων *te* καὶ ἐκ ρhythμων *C* || 6 οὔτε *in marg. P6* | ρhythμοὶ | ἀριθμοὶ *Chouet* | ὑπακτῶν *E* || 7 παρεστηκότες *P2f sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>* || 10 *ante* φωνὴ *add. tit.* Ὅρος φωνῆς *EsP2P3P5 in marg. codd. CFFim MoP7TVVe* | ἀναμφισβητήτως *P2* ἀναφισβητήτως *BMe* || 11 αἰσθητῶν *VaP5 (corr. sup. lin. P5<sup>2</sup>)* | γὰρ *deest in k* || 12 τὸ (*sec.*) | τῶν *k* || 12-13 καὶ δυσωδῶν *rep. VP5* || 13 κλυκέων *Ta* || 13-14 καὶ ἥδη... αἰσθάνεσθαι *deest in d (corr. in marg. P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>)* || 15 τίς | τῆς *P6* | μεταφορικώτερον δὲ ἀπὸ *g* (*δὲ del. U<sup>3</sup>*) || 16 περὶ τὴν *sup. lin. M* || 17 λαμβάνοντες *P6* | τὸ *sup. lin. S* ||

τὴν ἀφὴν ὅξδ' προσηγόρευσεν ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ θλάσαι ἐμποιοῦν καὶ  
 πιέζον βαρύ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν μὲν οἶονεῖ  
 τέμνουσαν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀξεῖαν, τὴν δὲ ὥσπερ θλάσαν βαρεῖαν. καὶ  
 οὐ ξένον ὥσπερ φαῖάν τινα καὶ μέλαιναν καὶ λευκὴν φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 5 πρὸς τὴν ὄρασιν αἰσθητῶν κεκλήκαμεν· ὥδε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀφὴν ἐχρησάμεθα τισι μεταφοραῖς.

31. "Ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἑσῆς ἐκφέρηται ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ὑπὸ μίαν  
 τάσιν, ὡς μηδένα περισπασμὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἥτοι ἐπὶ τὸ  
 βαρύτερον ἢ τὸ ὀξύτερον, τότε ὁ τοιοῦτος ἤχος φθόγγος καλεῖται,  
 10 παρὰ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ ὑπογράφοντές φασι "φθόγγος ἐστὶν ἐμμελοῦς  
 φωνῆς πῶσις ὑπὸ μίαν τάσιν."

32. Τῶν δὲ φθόγγων οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ὁμόφωνοι οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὁμό-  
 φωνοι, καὶ ὁμόφωνοι μὲν οἱ μὴ διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων κατ' ὀξύτητα  
 καὶ βαρύτητα, οὐχ ὁμόφωνοι δὲ οἱ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες. || τῶν δὲ

Bekk  
757

1 θλάσιον k θαλάσιον Fi || 2 πιέζων Fi || 4 post ξένον add. εἰ  
 edd., in marg. T<sup>3</sup> ci. in marg. U<sup>3</sup> post alienum, si Herv. | φαῖαν |  
 ἄν C | τινα [[καὶ]] καὶ μέλαιναν P3 | μέλαινα Es | φωνὴν rep.  
 VCP5 || 5 ὥρασιν M || 6 ἐχθρησάμεθα P5Va || 8 ὥς] ὥ T (corr. in  
 marg. T<sup>2</sup>) ὥ Mo || 9 τὸ deest in M | ὁ τοιοῦτος] οὗτοι ουτος U  
 (corr. U<sup>3</sup>) | ἤχος sup. lin. Es εἶχος VaP5 (corr. P5<sup>2</sup>) || 10 ὑπο-  
 γράφονται P4 ὑπογράφοντε R οἱ κογράφοντες CEsp5Vva | ante  
 φθόγγος add. tit. "Ὅρος φθόγγου Esp3P5 in marg. codd. CFFiMoOP  
 P2P4P7TV "Ὅρος φθόγγου in marg. M | φθόγγος P5 || 11 πῶσις E ||  
 12 ὁμόφωνοι (pr.) P6 || 13 καὶ ὁμόφωνοι in marg. P7 | μὴ deest  
 in M || 14 μὴ] μὲν VaP5 (corr. in marg. P5<sup>2</sup>) ||

stings and what cuts the touch as sharp, and what crushes and  
 presses down as heavy, in the same manner too for sound, the  
 one, as if it cut the hearing, is sharp; the other, as if it  
 crushes (as it were<sup>101</sup>), is heavy. It is not strange that,  
 just as we call a sound gray and black and white<sup>102</sup> from the  
 sense-objects of sight, so also we use some metaphors from  
 the sense-objects of touch.

31. Whenever the sound is emitted evenly and on one pitch--  
 when there occurs no distraction of the sense either toward the  
 heavier or the sharper--then such a sound is called a note.  
 Consequently, the musicians, describing in general, say "a note  
 is a fall of emmelic sound on one pitch."<sup>103</sup>

32. Of notes, some are homophonous, others not homophonous;  
 and homophonous are those that do not differ one from another  
 in sharpness and heaviness,<sup>104</sup> not homophonous are those that

world, but a limited sphere of human experience, thought, and  
 activity.

<sup>101</sup>Sextus Empiricus is admitting the image is forced.

<sup>102</sup>On what sound may be called, see Pollux *Onom.* 2.117.

For a more complete discussion of the analogy of color and  
 sound, see Aristotle *Top.* 1.15 (106a23-106b12, 107a37-107b5):  
 "white" (λευκός), when applied to sound, means "clear," and  
 "black" (μέλας) means "indistinct." Aristotle, unlike Sextus  
 Empiricus, claims here that "gray" (φαῖός) cannot be applied to  
 sound. But cf. Aristotle *Aud.* (802a2) where "gray" is indeed  
 applied to sound. For a similar color analogy, cf. Aristides  
 Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.9 and a similar passage in Pachymeres.  
 See Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Aristides Quintilianus and the *Har-*  
*monics* of Manuel Bryennius: A Study in Byzantine Music Theory,"  
*Journal of Music Theory* 27 (1983): 36-37.

<sup>103</sup>Cf. ¶42 *infra*. The definition of note as found in  
 Aristoxenus *Harm.* 1.15 (Da Rios 20.16-17), "φωνῆς πῶσις ἐπὶ  
 μίαν τάσιν," is the basis for the definition as found in the  
 later minor theorists as well as Sextus Empiricus: Cleonides  
*Intro.* 1 (Jan 179.9-10); Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.4-7);  
 Bacchius *Intro.* 1.4 (Jan 292.15-17); Gaudentius *Intro.* 2 (Jan  
 329.7-8); and Anon. Bell. 39 (Najock 11.19-12.1) and 48-49  
 (Najock 14.6-16); by contrast, see Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring  
 10.18-19). See Albrecht Riethmüller, "Phthongos," in *Hand-*  
*wörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich  
 Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

<sup>104</sup>Cf. discussions by others on homophonous notes: in  
 Gaudentius *Intro.* 8 (Jan 337.7-8) they are, as in Sextus

ὁμοφώνων, ὡς καὶ οὐχ ὁμοφώνων, τινὲς μὲν ὀξεῖς τινὲς δὲ βαρεῖς  
καλοῦνται, καὶ πάλιν τῶν οὐχ ὁμοφώνων οἱ μὲν διάφωνοι προσα-  
γορεύονται οἱ δὲ σύμφωνοι, καὶ διάφωνοι μὲν οἱ ἀνωμάλως καὶ  
5 διεσπασμένως τὴν ἀκοὴν κινουῦντες, σύμφωνοι δὲ οἱ ὁμαλώτερον  
καὶ ἀμερίζτως.

33. Σαφέστερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἔσται τὸ ἐκατέρου γένους ἰδίωμα  
τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς γεῦσιν ποιότητων μεταβάσει χρησαμένων ἡμῶν.  
ὥσπερ τοίνυν τῶν γευστῶν τὰ μὲν τοιαύτην ἔχει κρᾶσιν ὥστε  
10 μονοειδῶς καὶ λεῖως κινεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν, ὅποτον τὸ οἶνόμελι καὶ  
ὕδρὸμελι, τὰ δὲ οὐχ ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ ὁμοίως, καθάπερ τὸ ὀξύμελι  
(ἐκότερον γὰρ τούτων τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἔδον ἐντυποῦ ποιότητα τῇ  
γεύσει), οὕτω τῶν φθόγγων διάφωνοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἀνωμάλως τὴν  
ἀκοὴν καὶ διεσπασμένως κινουῦντες, σύμφωνοι δὲ οἱ ὁμαλότεροι.  
15 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν διαφορά τῶν φθόγγων τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ παρὰ  
μουσικοῦς.

1 ὁμοφώνων (sec.) | ὁμοφώνων P4 || 1-2 τινὲς μὲν...οὐχ ὁμοφώνων  
deest in Es || 4 διεσπασμένως U (corr. sup. lin. et in marg. U<sup>3</sup>)  
διεσπασμένων P6 | οὐμφωνοι Va || 5 ἀμέριστος Va || 6 ἐκότερον P7  
(corr. in marg.) || 7 γεύσει d (corr. in marg. P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>) γένειν  
Ta (corr. sup. lin.) || 8 γευσῶν CE | κρᾶσιν P6 || 9 κινεῖν Va |  
ad οἶνόμελι add. tit. in marg. οἶνόμελι, ὕδρὸμελι, ὀξύμελι  
P5<sup>2</sup> || 10 ὀξύμελι με deest in T (add. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 11 τῶν  
deest in E | μιγμάτων | πρᾶγματων P4 | ἐντυποῦ | ἐμποιεῖ c. var.  
lect. in marg. ἐντυποῦ EP7V ἐμποιεῖ c. var. lect. sup. lin.  
ἐντυποῦ P3<sup>2</sup> ἐμποιεῖ c. var. lect. in marg. ἐκτυποῦ C ἐκτυποῦ M  
ἐμποιεῖ in marg. U<sup>3</sup> ἔδον ἐμποιεῖ ἐντυποῦ P5Va ἐμποιεῖ ποιότητα  
ἢ ἐντυποῦ Es || 12 γεύσει | γενέσει Ta | διάφωνον MoT (corr. sup.  
lin. T<sup>2</sup>) διὰ φωνοῦ μὲν εἰσιν VC ante corr. P5 | ἀνωμάλως Va ||  
13 διεσπασμένως M ||

are not so. Of the homophonous, as of the not homophonous, some are called sharp and others heavy; and again, of the not homophonous, some are referred to as dissonant, others as consonant. Dissonant are those that move the hearing irregularly and in a disjointed manner; consonant are those that do so more regularly and continuously.<sup>105</sup>

33. The property of each genus will be rather more clear when we use the transference from the qualities of taste. Just as, of the things that may be tasted, some have such a blend as to move the sense uniformly and smoothly--such as oenome<sup>106</sup> and hydromel<sup>107</sup>--and others not in like manner nor similarly--like oxymel<sup>108</sup>--(for each of these mixed things imprints the proper quality on the taste) so, of the notes, dissonant are those that move the hearing irregularly and in a disjointed manner, and the consonant are more regular. Such is the difference of the notes according to the musicians.

Empiricus, notes that do not differ from one another in height and depth. According to Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.7 (Düring 15.10-12), homophonous notes are those that impress upon the hearing the perception of only one sound, such as octaves and their compounds. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.6 (W.-I. 10.5-6) states that they are notes of equal pitch but differing function. See Michaelides, pp. 141-42; and Wolf Frobenius, "Homophonos/aequisonus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

<sup>105</sup>On consonant and dissonant, see Gaudentius *Intro.* 8 (Jan 337.5-338.7); Bacchius *Intro.* 1.10 (Jan 293.8-12) and 1.59 (Jan 305.7-9); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.44 (Da Rios 55.12-56.19); Cleonides *Intro.* 5-6 (Jan 187.12-188.2); Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.20-262.6); Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring 10.25-28); and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.6 (W.-I. 9.26-10.5). On consonance, see Will Richter, "ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte eines musikologischen Begriffs," in *Convivium musicorum: Festschrift Wolfgang Boetticher zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 19. August 1974*, ed. Heinrich Hüsch and Dietz-Rüdiger Moser (Berlin: Merseburger, [1974]), pp. 264-90. On dissonance, see Fritz Reckow, "Diaphonia," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

<sup>106</sup>Oenome is a mixture of honey and wine.

<sup>107</sup>Hydromel is a mixture of honey and water.

<sup>108</sup>Oxymel is a mixture of honey and vinegar.



34. Περιγράφεται δέ τινα πρὸς τούτων διαστήματα, καθ' ἃ καὶ ἡ φωνὴ κινεῖται ἥτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύτερον ἀναβαίνουσα ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύτερον ἀνιεμένη. παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῶν διαστημάτων τούτων τὰ μὲν σύμφωνα τὰ δὲ διάφωνα προσηγόρευται, καὶ  
 5 σύμφωνα μὲν ὅποσα ὑπὸ συμφώνων φθόγγων περιέχεται, διάφωνα δὲ ὅποσα ὑπὸ διαφώνων. τῶν δὲ συμφώνων διαστημάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐλάχιστον διὰ τεσσάρων οἱ μουσικοὶ προσαγορεύουσι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο μεῖζον διὰ πέντε, καὶ τοῦ διὰ πέντε μεῖζον τὸ διὰ πασῶν. πᾶλλιν τε τῶν διαφώνων διαστημάτων ἐλάχιστον μὲν ἐστὶ  
 10 καὶ πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ καλουμένη δίεσις, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἡμιτόνιον, ὃ ἐστὶ διπλοῦν τῆς διέσεως, τρίτον ὁ τόνος, ὃς ἐστὶ διπλασίων τοῦ ἡμιτονίου.

2 ἥτοι] οὔτοι MoT | ἐπὶ (pr.) | ἐποὶ Va | ἥ] ἡ C | ἐπὶ (sec.)  
 deest in d (corr. in marg. P7<sup>2</sup>) || 3 ἀνιεμένη] ἀνυαμένη Va ἀνιεν  
 U ἀνιεύσα ci. in marg. U<sup>2</sup> in alio exemplari legitur ἀνυαμένη,  
 puto ἀνιεμένη in marg. U<sup>3</sup> ἀνι[.]εμένη M || 4 προσαγορεύεται  
 P7 || 6 δὲ deest in MT (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 7 τὸ] τὰ T (corr.  
 sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 8 καὶ τοῦ διὰ πέντε deest in U (καὶ τοῦ add.  
 marg. U<sup>3</sup>) || 9 πασῶν] πολλῶν g (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) | τε] δὲ U ||  
 10 ad δίεσις add. tit. in marg. τὴ δίεσις FM||

34. Some intervals<sup>109</sup> are outlined by these notes, in accord with which the sound moves, either ascending toward the sharper or descending toward the heavier. For this reason, by analogy, some of these intervals are referred to as consonant, others as dissonant. Consonant intervals are as many as are bounded by consonant notes; dissonant, as many as are bounded by dissonant notes. Of the consonant intervals,<sup>110</sup> the musicians refer to the fourth as the first and smallest, the fifth as the next greater one after this, and the octave as the one greater than the fifth. Again, of the dissonant intervals, the smallest and first is the so-called (by them) diesis; the second, the semitone, which is twice the diesis; the third, the tone, which is double the semitone.

<sup>109</sup>On the definition of intervals in general, see Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.8); Bacchius *Intro.* 1.6 (Jan 292.20-21); Gaudentius *Intro.* 3 (Jan 329.23-330.4); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 1.15 (Da Rios 20.20-21.6); Cleonides *Intro.* 1 (Jan 179.11-12) and 5; Anon. *Bell.* 22 (Najock 7.3-4) and 50 (Najock 14.17-15.3); and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.7. On the consonant intervals, see Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.95-98, 10.283; Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.5 and 1.7 (Düring 11.1-5, 15.12-14); and Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.44-45 (Da Rios 55.12-56.19). On the diesis, semitone, and tone, see Bacchius *Intro.* 1.8 (Jan 293.1-5). On the diesis, see Aristotle *APo.* 1.23 (87b37) and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.7. The diesis discussed by the ancient theorists approximates the quarter-tone in modern conception.

<sup>110</sup>The concept of consonant intervals was also influenced heavily by Pythagorean philosophy. According to the Pythagoreans, the consonant intervals are those that are represented by ratios whose terms are taken from the elements of the tetractys (1, 2, 3, 4), such as 4:3 (the fourth), 3:2 (the fifth), and 2:1 (the octave). The dissonant intervals are then derived from these by addition or subtraction. For instance, a tone is the difference between a fifth and a fourth; a semitone is the difference between a fourth and two tones. Aristoxenus accepts a like set of consonances and dissonances but posits empirical (as Sextus Empiricus does here) rather than purely mathematical criteria for their definition. On the intervals, see C. André Barbera, "The Persistence of Pythagorean Mathematics in Ancient Musical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980), especially pp. 84-97, 127-46; Richard Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics and Music," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*

35. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὅν τρόπον ἅπαν διάστημα κατὰ μουσικὴν ἐν  
 φθόγγοις ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὕτω καὶ πᾶν ἦθος. τὸ δ' ἔστι τι  
 γένος μελωδίας. καθὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἡθῶν || τινὰ μὲν ἐστὶ  
 σκυθρωπὰ καὶ στιβαρώτερα, ὅποια τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοροῦσι τὰ δὲ  
 5 εὐένδοτα πρὸς ἔρωτος καὶ οἴνοφλυγίας καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ καὶ οἰμωγᾶς,  
 οὕτω τὺς μὲν μελωδία σεμνὰ τινὰ καὶ ἀστεῖα ἐμποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ  
 κινήματα, τὺς δὲ ταπεινότερα καὶ ἀγεννῆ. καλεῖται δὲ κατὰ  
 κοινὸν ἡ τοιοῦτότροπος μελωδία τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἦθος ἀπὸ τοῦ

Bekk.  
758

2 πᾶν | τὸ P3 | τι *deest in* MP4f || 3 καθὰ | καθάπερ P3 || 4 καὶ |  
 ἐπὶ RU (*corr. in marg.* U<sup>3</sup>) | τὰ (pr.) | κατὰ Ta || 5 εὐένδοντα CP3  
 εὐένδοντα [[καὶ στιβαρώτερα]] πρὸς Ta || 6 τὺς | τὸ P4 | μὲν *deest*  
*in* P3 δὲ MoT (*corr. sup. lin.* T<sup>2</sup>) || 7 ταπεινότερον P4 τὰ πεινότερα  
 U ταπεινότερα P6 | ἀγεννῆ ME P4 || 8 ἡ | οἱ Es | τοιοῦτος τρόπος U  
 (*corr.* U<sup>3</sup>) ||

35. Moreover, in this manner every interval in music has  
 its substance in notes--so too every ethos. Ethos is a genus  
 of melody.<sup>111</sup> As of the human ethoses, some are sullen and  
 stronger (they tell that such were those of the ancients) and  
 others are easily yielding to love and drunkenness and lamen-  
 tations and wailings, so one melody produces movements in the  
 soul that are dignified and charming, another produces movements  
 more base and ignoble. Melody of such a sort is commonly called  
 by the musicians "ethos," from its being productive of ethos,<sup>112</sup>

22 (1963-64): 189-98, 325-35; and idem, "Aristoxenus and Greek  
 Mathematics," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A  
 Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue (New York:  
 W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 96-110.

<sup>111</sup>Cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 2.79 and Aristides Quintilianus  
*De mus.* 2.

<sup>112</sup>Three ethoses are regularly associated with music:  
 systaltic, diastaltic, and hesychastic or medial. See Aris-  
 tides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.12 (W.-I. 30.12-15) and 1.19 (W.-I.  
 40.14-15) and Cleonides *Intro.* 13 (Jan 206.3-18). Systaltic means  
 "depressing" and is the ethos "through which we move the pain-  
 ful passions" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 93). It  
 is appropriate to "amorous feelings, lamentations, wailings,  
 and the like" (Jon Solomon, "Cleonides: Εἰσαγωγή ὁμωνική;  
 Critical edition, Translation, and Commentary" [Ph.D. disserta-  
 tion, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980],  
 p. 160). Diastaltic means "exciting" and is that "through  
 which we awaken the spirit" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*  
 p. 93). It is used to signify "Magnificence, manly elevation  
 of the soul, heroic deeds, and such properties of the soul.  
 Tragedy especially employs those properties as does any other  
 genre of this character" (Solomon, p. 160). Aristides quin-  
 tilianus uses the term "medial" for the third of the ethoses  
 in connection with melic composition and "hesychastic" for the  
 third in rhythmic composition. He says that the medial ethos  
 of melic composition is that "through which we bring the soul  
 round to quietude" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 93).  
 Cleonides says the hesychastic "is that which peace of the soul  
 and a leisurely and peaceful condition accompany. Hymns,  
 paeans, encomia, advisories, and the like correspond to this  
 ethos" (Solomon, p. 160). According to Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke  
 63.2.15-64.2.19), the distinctive ethoses are simply a matter  
 of opinion. On the diastaltic ethos, see Jon Solomon, "The  
 Diastaltic Ethos," *Classical Philology* 76 (1981): 93-100.

ἦθους εἶναι ποιητική, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ χλωρὸν δέος τὸ χλωροποιόν,  
καὶ τὸ "νότοι βαρυήκοι ἀχλυώδεις κερηβαρικοὶ νωθοὶ διαλυτι-  
κοί" ἀντὶ τοῦ τούτων δραστηκού.

36. Τῆς δὲ κοινῆς μελωδίας ταύτης τὸ μὲν τι χρῶμα λέγεται  
5 τὸ δὲ ἁρμονία τὸ δὲ διάτονον, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἁρμονία αὐστηροῦ τινος  
ἦθους καὶ σεμνότητος κατασκευαστικῇ πῶς ὑπῆρχεν, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα  
λιγυρόν τι ἐστὶ καὶ θρηνηῶδες, τὸ δὲ διάτονον ἔντραχυ καὶ ὑπεί-  
γροικον. ἀλλὰ δὴ πάλιν τὸ μὲν ἁρμονικὸν μέλος τῶν μελωδομένων  
ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ διάτονον καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ἰδιωτέρας τινὸς  
10 εἶχε διαφοράς, δύο μὲν τὸ διάτονον, τὴν τε τοῦ μαλακοῦ διατόνου  
καλουμένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ συντόνου, τρεῖς δὲ τὸ χρῶμα· τὸ μὲν γάρ  
τι αὐτοῦ τονικὸν καλεῖται τὸ δὲ ἡμιτόνιον τὸ δὲ μαλακόν.

1 καὶ *deest* in P3 || 2 τὸ νότοι | τὸν δτι U (*corr. sup. lin. et*  
*in marg.*U<sup>3</sup>) οἱ τόνοι *ci. in marg.*U<sup>2</sup> | νήτοι E | βαρυήκοι η  
*deest* in U (*add. sup. lin.*U<sup>3</sup>) | κερηβαρικοὶ P7 (*corr. sup. lin.*)  
κερηβαρικοὶ Va | νωθοὶ *deest* in E || 3 τοῦ *deest* in k || 4 μὲν  
τι | μέντοι F1MoP2P7Tvek | *ad* χρῶμα *add. tit. in marg.* ἁρμονία,  
χρῶμα, διάτονον P5<sup>2</sup> || 5 τὸ δὲ διάτονον...ἁρμονία *deest* in E |  
ἡ οἱ Es || 6 καὶ | οὐ P7 | καταγευστική Es | ὑπάρχει EsVa in  
*marg.*U<sup>3</sup> ὑπάρχει c. *var. lect. in marg.* ὑπῆρχε VCP5 ὑπάρχει c.  
*var. lect. sup. lin.* ὑπῆρχε P3<sup>2</sup> | τὸ | τῷ Es || 7 λιγυρόν EMe  
STa | τί | τέ k | ὄντραχυ T (*corr. sup. lin.*T<sup>2</sup>) || 8 τὸ | τὸν MoT  
(*corr.*T<sup>2</sup>) || 9 διαίρετόν g (διαίρετέρον P4) | τὸ (*sec.*) | τῷ M |  
ἰδιωτέρας *codd.* εἰδιωτέρας Bekk. Mau || 9-10 καὶ τὸ χρῶμα...  
τὸ διάτονον in *marg.*Es || 10 δύο | διὰ P6 || 11 γὰρ *deest* in P6 ||  
12 δὲ (*sec.*) | δέον R ||

just as we call fear "pale"<sup>113</sup> because it makes one pale, and  
the "south winds hard of hearing, hazy, headachy, sluggish,  
and relaxed"<sup>114</sup> instead of effective of these.

36. Of this common melody, one type is termed "color,"  
another "harmonia," and another "diatonic."<sup>115</sup> Of these, the  
harmonia is somehow constructive of dignity and a severe ethos,  
the color is a shrill and mournful ethos, and the diatonic is  
a somewhat harsh and coarse ethos. Again, of those that are  
sung, the harmonic melos is undifferentiated, but the diatonic  
and the color have some more particular differences.<sup>116</sup> The  
diatonic has two, the so-called difference of the soft diatonic  
and of the intense; the color has three, for of these, one is  
called tonal, another semitonal, and another soft.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup>This image is found in Homer *Il.* 7.479, 8.77, 17.67;  
*Od.* 11.43, 633, 12.243, 22.42, 24.450, 533; and *h.Cer.* 2.190.

<sup>114</sup>This comes from Hippocrates *Aph.* 3.5; cf. Aristotle  
*Mete.* (973b9).

<sup>115</sup>On these three genera, see Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.46-52  
(Da Rios 57.13-65.20); Cleonides *Intro.* 3 (Jan 181.12); Ptolemy  
*Harm.* 1.14; Bacchius *Intro.* 1.21 (Jan 298.5-6); Gaudentius  
*Intro.* 5 (Jan 331.7-9); Bell. Anon. 52-56 (Najock 15.7-16.4);  
Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.9; and Nicomachus *Ench.* 12  
(Jan 262.7-263.17).

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 7; Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.50-52  
(Da Rios 62.14-65.20). Note that in these treatises, the three  
shades of the color are called soft, hemiolic, and whole-tone.

<sup>117</sup>The color, harmonia, and diatonic that Sextus Em-  
piricus mentions here are the standard Aristoxenian genera of  
the tetrachord, that is, different divisions of the tetrachord  
into smaller melodic intervals. According to theorists who  
follow the Aristoxenian tradition, the harmonia is divided  
into (moving from low to high) diesis, diesis, and ditone; the  
soft color into a diesis equal to a third of a tone, another  
such diesis, and an interval of one and five-sixths tones; the  
the hemiolic (or semitonal) color into a diesis one and a half  
times the size of the diesis of the harmonia (about three-  
eighths of a tone), another such diesis, and an interval of  
one and three-fourths tones; the whole-tone (tonal) color into  
semitone, semitone, and tone-and-a-half; the soft diatonic  
into semitone, three noncomposite dieses, and five noncomposite  
dieses; and the intense diatonic into semitone, tone, and tone.  
See C. André Barbera, "Arithmetic and Geometric Divisions of  
the Tetrachord," *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977): 294-323.

37. Πλὴν ἐκ τούτων συμφανὲς ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κατὰ μελωδίας θεωρία παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶχεν εἰ μὴ τοῖς φθόγγοις. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀναιρουμένων αὐτῶν τὸ μηδὲν ἔσται ἡ μουσική. πῶς οὖν καὶ ἐρεῖ τις ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ φθόγγοι; ἐκ  
5 τοῦ φωνῆν αὐτοῦ κατὰ γένος ὑπάρχειν, φήσομεν, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνύπαρκτον ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι δεδεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δογματικῶν μαρτυρίας.

38. Οἷ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυρήνης φιλόσοφοι μόνον φασὶν ὑπάρχειν τὰ πάθη, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. ὁθεν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν μὴ οὔσαν πάθος, ἀλλὰ  
10 πάθους ποιητικὴν, μὴ γίνεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν. οἷ || γὰρ τοι περὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον καὶ Πλάτωνα πᾶν αἰσθητὸν ἀναιροῦντες συναναι-  
ροῦσι καὶ τὴν φωνήν, αἰσθητὸν τι δοκοῦσαν πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχειν. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως, εἰ ἔστι φωνή, ἥτοι σῶμα ἐστὶν ἢ ἀσώματον· οὔτε δὲ σῶμα ἐστὶν, ὥς οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ διὰ πολλῶν διδασκουσιν, οὔτε  
15 ἀσώματος, ὥς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

Bekk.  
759

1 τοῦτον Va | μελωδίας deest in U (add. sup. lin.U<sup>3</sup>) | θεωρία Es || 2 παρ' αὐτοῖς U (corr. in marg.U<sup>3</sup>) | τινὶ τι MT (corr. in marg.T<sup>2</sup>) | εἶχεν b ἔχει d (εἶχεν in marg.P7<sup>2</sup> et T<sup>2</sup>) || 3 post μὴ add. ἐν d (del.P7) | διφθόγγοις P3 | αὐτῶν deest in M || 4 μουσική [[πῶς]] πῶς O | φθόγγει R || 6 δεδεῖ[[.]]χθαι P4 || 6-9 ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς...καὶ τὴν φωνὴν deest in P6 || 8 οἷ || 8 E | φιλόσο-  
φος E || 9 πάθε R || 10 μὴ rep.E | γενέσθαι M || 11 τὸν] τὴν Va | συναιροῦσι CVVaP5 (corr. sup. lin.P5<sup>2</sup>) || 12 δοκοῦσα P4 || 14 περιπατητικῶς Me περιπατικοῖς M || 15 ἀσώματον E ante corr.Mo ||

37. Moreover, it is evident from these things that every theory of melody according to the musicians does not have its substance in any other thing except in the notes.<sup>118</sup> And because of this, if they are abolished, music will be nothing. Now, how will one say that there are no notes? From the premise--we will say--that they are generically sound;<sup>119</sup> and that sound is nonexistent has been shown by us from the testimony of the dogmatists in our skeptic observations.<sup>120</sup>

38. The philosophers from Cyrene say that only the passions exist, but nothing else.<sup>121</sup> For this reason, sound, since it is not a passion but productive of passion, does not arise from the existent things. Those who follow Democritus and Plato, in abolishing every sense-object, concomitantly abolish even sound, which seems to be a sense-object.<sup>122</sup> In another way, if there is sound, it is either a body or not a body. But it is neither a body as the Peripatetics teach in many ways, nor is it not a body, as the Stoics teach.<sup>123</sup> There is, therefore, no sound.

<sup>118</sup>Cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 68 (Jan 306.18-20).

<sup>119</sup>On sound as the primary cause of music, see Euclid *Sectio canonis* proem; Gaudentius *Intro.* (Jan 327-28); and Nicomachus *Ench.* 2, where a discussion on music is begun with the topic of sound.

<sup>120</sup>Note Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.131, where a brief refutation of sound is made. The main points of the argument are as follows: every sound--if there is sound--is either coming into being or is being silenced. But there is not sound that is coming into being, because it has not yet been substantiated; and it is agreed that sound being silenced is no longer substantiated. There is, therefore, no sound.

<sup>121</sup>On this doctrine of the Cyrenaics, cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.191 and P. 1.215 and Diogenes Laertius 2.92. On the Cyrenaics, see Sextus Empiricus P. 1.215; and Julián Marías, *History of Philosophy*, trans. Stanley Appelbaum and Clarence C. Strowbridge (New York: Dover, 1967), pp. 89-90.

<sup>122</sup>On this teaching of Democritus and Plato, cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.6, 56.

<sup>123</sup>On these doctrines according to the Peripatetics and the Stoics, see Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.20 (902F-903A). According to Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, sound is not a body, because sound is not the air but is a manifestation that occurs in accord with a striking of the air. As a similar example, when a rod is bent it is not the manifestation or appearance, but, rather, the matter that is bent. According to the Stoics, sound is a body, because everything that

39. 'Αλλ' ὥδ' τις κἀκεῖνως ἐπιχειρήσειε λέγειν, ὥς εἰ μὴ  
 ἔστι ψυχὴ, οὐδὲ αἰσθήσεις· μέρη γὰρ ταύτης ὑπάρχον. εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, οὐδὲ τὰ αἰσθητὰ· πρὸς αἰσθήσεις γὰρ ἡ τοῦ-  
 5 των ὑπόστασις νοεῖται. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσθητὰ οὐδὲ φωνή· ἐξ ὧς γάρ  
 τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὑπῆρχεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν ἔστι ψυχὴ, καθὼς ἐν  
 τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδείκνυμεν· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

40. Καὶ μὴν εἰ μήτε βραχεῖά ἐστι φωνὴ μήτε μακρά, οὐκ ἔστι  
 φωνή· οὔτε δὲ βραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε μακρὰ φωνή, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς  
 10 τοῖς γραμματικοῖς ὑπεμνήσαμεν, περὶ συλλαβῆς καὶ λέξεως ζητοῦν-  
 τες πρὸς τούτους· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

1 ἄλλ' ὥς δέ τις κἀκεῖνως MoT (corr. in marg. et sup. lin.T<sup>2</sup>)  
 ἄλλος δέ τις κἀν ἐκεῖνως Bekk. Mau | ὥς] s sup. lin.O || 2  
 ταύτης] αὐτῆς PORU ταύτας P7 || 2-3 μέρη γὰρ...εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθή-  
 σεῖς deest in P4 || 3 αἱ deest in UVa | αἰσθήσεις (sec.) U<sup>32</sup>k  
 αἰσθήσει cett. | ἡ τοῦ τούτων Es || 4 ὑποστάσεις Va | μὴ deest  
 in M || 5 ὑπάρχον g (corr. sup. lin.U<sup>3</sup>) || 5-6 ἐστὶ ψυχὴ,...  
 ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδει deest in Va (add. in marg.Va<sup>2</sup>) || 6 αὐτὴν P4 |  
 φωνή] φωνῇ MeS || 8 οὔτε δὲ μακρὰ ἐστὶν οὔτε βραχεῖα P4 || 10-  
 172.1 οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι...ἐν ἀποτελέσματι deest in Va οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι  
 φωνή, πρὸς τούτους οὔτε ἐν ἀποτελέσματι add. in marg.Va<sup>2</sup>||

39. But in yet another way, suppose one undertakes to say  
 that unless there is a soul, there are no senses (for they  
 exist as parts of the soul).<sup>124</sup> And unless there are senses,  
 there are no sense-objects (for the substance of these is con-  
 ceived with reference to the senses). And unless there are  
 sense-objects, there is no sound (for it exists as a type of  
 the sense-objects).<sup>125</sup> But the soul is nothing, just as we  
 showed in the observations on the soul.<sup>126</sup> There is, there-  
 fore, no sound.

40. Indeed, if sound is neither short nor long, there is  
 no sound. But sound is neither long nor short, as we observed  
 in our remarks against the grammarians, when questioning them  
 on syllable and word.<sup>127</sup> There is, therefore, no sound.

performs an action is a body; sound makes an imprint on the  
 hearing as a finger does in wax. Everything that moves and  
 annoys is a body; εὐμουσία (musicality) moves and ἀμουσία  
 (want of musicality) annoys. Sound is moved and is reflected  
 when it makes an echo.

<sup>124</sup>In Aristotle *De anima* 2.2 (413b11-13), soul is the  
 origin (ἀρχή) of the senses and is defined by them as well as  
 nutrition, thought, and movement. Cf. Plato *Ti.* (43A-44B) and  
 Plutarch *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* 24 (1024C) and *Com-  
 pendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo* 5 (1032B).

<sup>125</sup>Cf. the fourth mode of the five of Agrippa (see  
 Introduction, pp. 15-16). When the hypothesis upon which other  
 proofs are based is abolished, all are abolished with it.

<sup>126</sup>This is apparently a reference to a lost work. Cf.  
 Sextus Empiricus *M.* 10.284.

<sup>127</sup>On sound being neither long nor short, see Sextus  
 Empiricus *M.* 1.124-130. The argument may be summarized as  
 follows. There is no short syllable, because there is no  
 smallest chronos (see n. 141 *infra*), since every chronos is  
 divided *ad infinitum* (εἰς ἄπειρον). If the grammarians say  
 that they call a syllable short and smallest not by nature  
 but by sense, they will increase the difficulty, for what they  
 call short is divisible by sense. Sextus Empiricus uses as  
 an example here the syllable "ερ." This syllable is made of  
 two elements and is, therefore, divisible and so cannot be  
 short. A long syllable is also nonexistent. The grammarians  
 say that it is dichronic, but two chronoi do not co-exist with  
 one another. For if they are two, one is in the present but  
 the other is not, since one must be uttered before or after  
 the other. Since the parts do not co-exist, the syllable  
 as a whole is not substantiated, but only a part of it. If  
 only a part of the long syllable exists, it will not differ

41. Πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φωνὴ οὔτε ἐν ἀποτελέσματι οὔτε ἐν ὑποστάσει νοεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν γενέσει καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκτάσει· τὸ δὲ ἐν γενέσει νοούμενον γίνεται, οὐδέπω δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἰκία γινόμενη ἢ ναὺς καὶ ἄλλα παμπληθῆ εἶναι λέγεται. τοῖνυν οὐθὲν  
5 ἔστι φωνή.

42. Καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ συχνοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἔνεστι λόγους χρῆσθαι, περὶ ὧν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν τοῖς Πυρρωνείοις ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι διεξήειμεν. νυνὶ δὲ φωνῆς μὴ οὔσης οὐδὲ φθόγγος ἔστιν, ὅς  
10 ἐλέγετο φωνῆς πῶσις ὑπὸ μῦαν τᾶσιν· φθόγγου δὲ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲ διαστήμα μουσικὸν καθέστηκεν, οὐ συμφωνία, οὐ μελωδία, οὐ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γένη. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μουσική· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἐλέγετο ἐμμελῶν τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν.

43. Ὅθεν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ὑποδεικτέον ὅτι καὶ τούτων ἀποστῶμεν, διὰ τὴν ἐγχειρισθησομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἀπορίαν  
15 ἀνυπόστατος καθέστηκεν ἡ μουσική. εἰ || γὰρ μηδὲν ἔστι ῥυθμός, οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμη τις ἔσται περὶ ῥυθμοῦ· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν ἔστι ῥυθμός, ὡς παραστήσομεν· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι τις ἐπιστήμη περὶ ῥυθμοῦ.

Bekk  
760

41. Besides these things, sound is conceived neither as an effect nor as a substance, but rather as a coming-into-being and a temporal extension. What is conceived as coming-into-being is becoming but not yet is,<sup>128</sup> just a house or a ship<sup>129</sup> and other multitudinous things that are in a state of becoming are not said to be. So then, sound is nothing.

42. It is possible to use toward this end many other arguments, which, as I said, we went through in detail while making observations in the Pyrrhoneia.<sup>130</sup> But now, since there is no sound, neither is there a note, which was said to be a fall of sound on one pitch.<sup>131</sup> Since there is no note, neither has a musical interval<sup>132</sup> been established nor consonance<sup>133</sup> nor melody nor the general<sup>134</sup> derived from these. Because of this, there is no music, for it was said to be a science of the em-melic and the ecmelic.<sup>135</sup>

43. For this reason, it must be pointed out from another principle that even if we stand aloof from these things, music has still been established as nonsubstantial through the doubt that will be treated in connection with rhythmic composition. For if rhythm is nothing, neither will there be a science concerning rhythm. But indeed, rhythm is nothing, as we will prove. There is, therefore, no science of rhythm.<sup>136</sup>

from the short syllable. And it is not possible to conceive something as compounded from parts if one part exists but the other does not. There is, therefore, no long syllable.

<sup>128</sup>On being, see Peters, pp. 141-42. On becoming, see Peters, pp. 67-72, and Aristotle *Ph.* 1.7-8. Being indicates a continuous and ongoing state without change; becoming implies a process in which a substantial change is taking place.

<sup>129</sup>House and ship are used in a similar example in Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.131.

<sup>130</sup>It is not evident to which work Sextus Empiricus is referring here, and it may be a lost work.

<sup>131</sup>See §31 *supra*.

<sup>132</sup>See §34 *supra*.

<sup>133</sup>See §§32-34 *supra*.

<sup>134</sup>See §36 *supra*.

<sup>135</sup>See §28 *supra*.

<sup>136</sup>Rhythmics is a part of the technical division of music (see chart in n. 4 *supra*) along with the harmonic and metric (Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5 and Anon. *Bell.* 29 [Najock 9.4-5]).

1 ἀποτελέσματι τε E || 2 γενέσει P5Va || 3 νοούμενον] οὐ μόνον Es | νοούμενον γί[[νεται καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκ]]νεται P5 νοούμενον γινέσει καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκ..νεται Va | οὐδέπω] οὐδέ ποτε M | δ' *deest in* EsP6 || 4 ἢ] ἢν Me (*corr. sup. lin.*) καὶ Va | εἶνα Es | οὐθὲν] οὐδὲν Es || 6 ἐν ἔστι MeS | λόγους VaP5 (*corr. P5<sup>2</sup>*) | χρῆσθαι P4 (*corr. sup. lin.*) || 7 ὡς *deest in* Va | ὑπομνηματιζόμενον E || 8 διεξήειμεν *codd.* (η *sup. lin.* T<sup>2</sup> διεξήειμεν P4P7 διεξήειμεν P3) | *ad* φθόγγος *add. tit. in marg.* τί φθόγγος F τί φθόγγος M | ὅς] ὡς S || 10 ἀδ μουσικὸν *add. tit. in marg.* τί μουσικὸν F | οὐδὲ μελωδία P4 | οὐ τὰ] αὐτὰ MoT (*corr. sup. lin.* T<sup>2</sup>) || 11 γένους O | *ad* μουσική *add. tit. in marg.* τί μουσική M || 12 τε *deest in* Es | τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν *deest in* P5Va (*add. in marg. P5<sup>2</sup> et Va<sup>2</sup>*) || 14 ἐγχειρισθησομένην σο *deest in* T (*corr. sup. lin.* T<sup>2</sup>) ἐγχειρισθησομένην C ἐγχειρηθησομένην Bekk. Mau | ἀπορίας RU (*corr. sup. lin.* U<sup>3</sup>) || 15 εἰ [[μεν]] γὰρ Mo | μηδὲν ἔστι] μηδ' ἔνεστι E || 16 ἐπιστή Va | τις ἔσται] τίς ἔστι P4 || 16-17 ἀλλὰ μὴν...περὶ ῥυθμοῦ *deest in* Es ||

44. Ὡς γὰρ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ῥυθμὸς σύστημα ἐστὶν ἐκ ποδῶν, ὃ δὲ ποὺς τὸ συνεστὼς ἐξ ἄρσεως καὶ θέσεως· ἡ δὲ ἄρσις καὶ ἡ θέσις ἐν ποσότητι χρόνου θεωρεῖται, ὧν τινὰς μὲν ἐπεῖχεν

1 ad ῥυθμὸς add. tit. in marg. ὅρος ῥυθμοῦ F ῥυθμός P5<sup>2</sup> || 2 ὃ δὲ] οὐδε C | ποὺς] τοὺς P7 (corr. in marg.) | ad ποὺς add. tit. in marg. τὴν ποὺς· καὶ τὴν ἄρσις· καὶ τὴν θέσις M τὴν ποὺς καὶ ἄρσις καὶ θέσις F | συνεστὼς P3P6 | ἐξ ἄρσεως] ἐξάσεως Es | ad ἄρσις add. tit. in marg. ἄρσις, θέσις P5<sup>2</sup> || 3 μὲν deest in M ||

44. As we have said many times,<sup>137</sup> rhythm is a scale of feet,<sup>138</sup> and the foot is what has been composed of arsis and thesis.<sup>139</sup> Arsis and thesis<sup>140</sup> are considered as a quantity

<sup>137</sup>Sextus Empiricus says this nowhere else in his surviving works.

<sup>138</sup>On the definition of rhythm, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.7, 16-20 (see Lewis Rowell, "Aristoxenus on Rhythm," *Journal of Music Theory* 23 [1979]: 63-79); Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4.46; Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13; Bacchius *Intro.* 2.93 (Jan 313.1-12), where he gives his own definition of rhythm as well as those of Phaedrus, Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Leophantus, and Didymus; Hephaestion fr. 1 (Consbruch 76.19-77.2); and Anon. Bell. 1 (Najock 1.1-2) and 83 (Najock 28.1-2). On rhythm, see W. Sidney Allen, *Accent and Rhythm. Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek: A Study in Theory and Reconstruction* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973); H. & H. Huchzermeyer, "Die Bedeutung des Rhythmus in der Musiktherapie der Griechen von der Frühzeit bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 58 (1974): 113-48; Willem John Wolff Koster, *Rhythme en metrum bij de Grieken van Damon tot Aristoxenus* (Groningen: Wolters, 1940); P. Doutzaris, "La rythmique dans la poésie et la musique des grecs anciens," *Revue des études grecques* 47 (1934): 297-345; Franz Susemihl, "Zur griechischen Rhythmik," *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 101 (1870): 510-13; Rudolf Westphal, *Griechische Rhythmik und Harmonik nebst der Geschichte der drei musischen Disziplinen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1867); idem, *System der antiken Rhythmik* (Breslau: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1865); and Wilhelm Seidel, "Rhythmus/numerus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner [c1972-83]). For a new consideration of the question of rhythm and meter in ancient Greek music, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 7 (1985): 159-80.

<sup>139</sup>Cf. *M.* 1.160, where Sextus Empiricus postpones his discussion of rhythmic feet to his remarks against the musicians.

<sup>140</sup>On arsis and thesis, cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 2.98 (Jan 314.10-15); Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13; and Georgius Choeroboscus *Comm. in Hephaestionem* 2.3 (Consbruch 211.14) and Scholiast B on Hephaestion 5.20 (Consbruch 294.13-14); Charles W. L. Johnson, "The Motion of the Voice in Connection with Accent and Accentual Arsis and Thesis," in *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1902), pp. 57-76. The terms "arsis" and "thesis" are

44. ὅς γὰρ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ῥυθμὸς σύστημα ἐστὶν ἐκ ποδῶν, ὃ δὲ ποὺς τὸ συνεσιῶς ἐξ ἄρσεως καὶ θέσεως· ἡ δὲ ἄρσις καὶ ἡ θέσις ἐν ποσότητι χρόνου θεωρεῖται, ὧν τινὰς μὲν ἐπέχεν

1 ad ῥυθμὸς add. tit. in marg. ὅρος ῥυθμοῦ F ῥυθμός P5<sup>2</sup> || 2 ὃ δὲ] οὐδε C | ποὺς] τοὺς P7 (corr. in marg.) | ad ποὺς add. tit. in marg. τί ποὺς· καὶ τί ἄρσις· καὶ τί θέσις M τί ποὺς καὶ ἄρσις καὶ θέσις F | συνεσιῶς P3P6 | ἐξ ἄρσεως] ἐξάσεως Es | ad ἄρσις add. tit. in marg. ἄρσις, θέσις P5<sup>2</sup> || 3 μὲν deest in M ||

44. As we have said many times,<sup>137</sup> rhythm is a scale of feet,<sup>138</sup> and the foot is what has been composed of arsis and thesis.<sup>139</sup> Arsis and thesis<sup>140</sup> are considered as a quantity

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<sup>139</sup>Cf. *M.* 1.160, where Sextus Empiricus postpones his discussion of rhythmic feet to his remarks against the musicians.

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ἡ θέσις τινὰς δὲ ἢ ἀρσις χρόνους. καθάπερ ἐκ μὲν στοιχείων συλλαβαὶ ἐκ δὲ συλλαβῶν λέξεις συντίθενται, οὕτως ἐκ μὲν τῶν χρόνων οἱ πόδες ἐκ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ ῥυθμοὶ γίνονται.

45. Ἐὰν οὖν δεῖξωμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ χρόνος, ἔξομεν συναπο-  
 5 δεδειγμένον ὅτι οὐδὲ πόδες ὑπάρχουσιν, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ οἱ  
 ῥυθμοί, ἐξ ἐκείνων τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνοντες. ὃ ἀκολουθήσει τὸ  
 μὴδὲ ἐπιστήμην εἶναί τινα περὶ ῥυθμούς. πῶς οὖν; ὅτι οὐδὲν  
 ἐστὶ χρόνος, ἥδη μὲν παρεστήσαμεν ἐν τοῖς Πυρρωνεῶσι, οὐδὲν  
 δὲ ἥτιον καὶ τὰ νῦν παραστήσομεν ἐπὶ ποσόν.
- 10 46. Εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τι χρόνος, ἦτοι πεπερασται ἢ ἀπειρός ἐστιν.  
 οὔτε δὲ πεπερασται, ἐπεὶ ἐροῦμέν ποτε γεγονέναι χρόνον ὅτε  
 χρόνος οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ποτε χρόνον ὅτε χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται.  
 οὔτε ἀπειρος καθέστηκεν, ἔστι γὰρ τι αὐτοῦ παρῃκηδὸς καὶ ἐνεστὼς  
 καὶ μέλλον, ὧν ἐκάτερον εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, πεπερασται ὁ χρόνος,  
 15 εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ἔσται ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ὁ παρῃκηδὸς καὶ ὁ μέλλον,  
 ὅπερ ἀτοκόν. οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι χρόνος.

1 post χρόνους ci. deest copula in marg. U<sup>3</sup> | post καθάπερ add.  
 γὰρ Bekk. ex Herv. quomodo enim || 1-2 στοιχείων... οὕτως ἐκ μὲν  
 deest in E || 3 ad χρόνων add. tit. in marg. χρόνος, πόδες,  
 ῥυθμός P5<sup>2</sup> | οἱ (sec.) deest in b | post γίνονται add. ἐξ  
 ἐκείνων τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνοντες codd., condemn. Bekk. Mau ||  
 4 ἐὰν deest in M | ἔξομεν T (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 4-6 ἐὰν οὖν  
 ... λαμβάνοντες deest in Esp6 || 5 ὑπάρχουσιν ci. Bekk. | δὲ  
 deest in M | οἱ deest in M || 6 σύστασι P4 || 6-7 τὸ μὴδὲ] μὴ δὲ  
 τὸ P4 || 7 μὴδὲ P6 μὴ δὲ cett. | ῥυθμοδὸς] ἀρσιμοδὸς E || 8 Πυρρω-  
 νεῶσις T (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) Πειρρωνεῶσις Ta (corr. sup.  
 lin.) || 8-9 οὐδὲν [ἐστὶ χρόνος, ἥδη μὲν] παρεστήσαμεν Mo || 9 δὲ  
 ἥτιον καὶ τὰ νῦν in marg. Mo | δὲ deest in Va | καὶ [νῦν] τὰ  
 νῦν P6 | παρεστήσομεν MoT (corr. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) || 10 ἢ deest in  
 E || 11 ὅτε] ὅτι E || 12 οὐκ ἦν... ὅτε χρόνος in marg. Es || 13  
 ἔστι] ἔστι O | καὶ ἐνεστὼς condemn. Heintz ἐνεστὼς P3 || 14  
 μέλλον P6 | ὧν] ὡς P7 (corr. in marg. P7) U (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) |  
 ἐκάτερον] ἐκαστον ci. Bekk. || 15 ὁ (pr.)] ὡ MoT (corr. sup. lin.  
 T<sup>2</sup>) || 16 ἀτοκόν] το deest in T (add. sup. lin. T<sup>2</sup>) ||

of chronos.<sup>141</sup> the thesis contains some chronoi and the arsis others. Just as syllables are combined from elements and words from syllables, so the feet come into being from the chronoi and the rhythms from the feet.

45. If we show that chronos is nothing, we will have concomitantly demonstrated that neither do feet exist, nor, because of this, do rhythms, since they take their composition from feet. It will follow from this that there is no science of rhythms. How so? That chronos is nothing we already proved in the Pyrrhoneia,<sup>142</sup> but nevertheless, we will prove the things at hand up to a point.

46. If there is a chronos, either it has been limited or it is unlimited.<sup>143</sup> But it has not been limited, since we then say that at some time there has been a chronos when there was no chronos and that at some time there will be a chronos when there will be no chronos. Nor has it been established as unlimited: for part of it is past and present and future,<sup>144</sup> in the case of each of which, if it is not, chronos has been limited; but if it is, there will be both the past and the future concurrently, which is absurd. There is, therefore, no chronos.

derived from the dance movement that is a part of the music. Thesis is downward movement as in the placement of the foot, and arsis is upward movement as in the raising of the foot.

<sup>141</sup>On the chronos, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.10 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.14. "Chronos" is a technical term used by the ancients to indicate a measure of rhythmic time. The same term is also used in a more proper sense to indicate the phenomenon that approximates the denotation of the English word "time" in its primary sense. It is this ambiguity that Sextus Empiricus will play upon in the following sections. By proving the impossibility of the existence of "chronos" in one sense, the other is also abolished. For definitions of "chronos" in the more abstract sense as put forth by the various philosophical schools, see Sextus Empiricus *P.* 3.136-40 and Stobaeus *Ecl.* 1.8.40-42 (Wachsmuth 102-7).

<sup>142</sup>The discussion that will be found in sections 46-50 parallels discussions found in *P.* 3.140-44 and *M.* 10.189-200.

<sup>143</sup>The unlimited denotes in its original sense not only what is infinite in extent but also what has not been ordered or delimited by any internal arrangement or boundaries. On the unlimited, see Plato *Phil.* (23C-25B); Aristotle *Ph.* 2.4-5; and Peters, pp. 19-20.

<sup>144</sup>This argument is given to prove time as unlimited by Apollodorus in Stobaeus *Ecl.* 1.8.42 (Wachsmuth 1:105.10-16).

47. Τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνυπαρκτῶν συνεστὼς ἀνυπαρκτὸν ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἔκ τε τοῦ παρῳχημένου καὶ μηκέτι ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος μηδέπω δὲ ὄντος συνεστὼς ἀνυπαρκτος ἔσται.

48. Ἄλλως τε, εἰ μὲν ἀμερὴς ἐστίν ὁ χρόνος, πῶς τὸ μὲν τι αὐτοῦ παρῳχημένον τὸ δὲ ἐνεστὼς τὸ δὲ μέλλον λέγομεν; εἰ δὲ μεριστός ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν τὸ μεριστὸν ὑπὸ τινος αὐτοῦ μέρους καταμετρεῖται, ὥς πῆχυς μὲν ὑπὸ παλαιστοῦ, ὁ παλαιστὴς δὲ ὑπὸ δακτύλου, δεῖσει καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν αὐτοῦ μερῶν καταμετρεῖσθαι. οὔτε δὲ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι δυνατὸν καταμετρεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους χρόνους, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὁ γινόμενος καὶ ὁ ἐνεστὼς χρόνος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς παρῳχημένος καὶ μέλλων, παρῳχημένος μὲν ὅτι τὸν παρῳχημένον καταμετρεῖ χρόνον, μέλλων δὲ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα ὁπερ ἄτοπον. οὐ τοίνυν τινὲς τῶν λειπομένων δυοῖν τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καταμετρητέον. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ταύτῃ λεκτέον εἶναί τινα χρόνον.

49. Πρὸς τοὺτους ὁ χρόνος τριμερὴς ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχει παρῳχηκὸς τὸ δὲ ἐνεστὼς τὸ δὲ μέλλον, ὧν τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον οὐκέτι ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐπω ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ ἐνεστὼς ἤτοι ἀμερὴς ἐστίν ἢ μεριστὸν. ἀλλ' ἀμερὴς μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη· ἐν ἀμερεὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν δύναται γίνεσθαι μεριστόν, ὥς φησι Τύμων, οἷον τὸ γίνεσθαι, τὸ φθείρεσθαι.

1 ἀνυπαρκτοῦ MoT (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | συνεστερὶ O (c. συνεστὸς in marg.) συνεστερὶ P συνεστὸς P3P6P4(?) || 1-2 Τό γε...ὁ δὲ χρόνος deest in RU (corr. in marg. U<sup>3</sup>) || 2 ἐκ τε] οὔτε P4 || 3 μηδέπω] μὴ δέ πω MeS | ὄντως ante corr. Me || 4 ἀμερὴς M | τι] τοι Ok || 5 ἐνεστὸς EOPP3P4R | μέλλο Es || 6 μεριστὸν] μεριστὸν Va || 7 δὲ deest in E || 8 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν MoT (corr. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) | αὐτοῦ μερῶν] αὐτομερῶν M || 9 τῷ sup. lin. Me || 10 ὁ (pr.) condemn. Heintz | καὶ] κατ' αὐτοὺς ci. Heintz (ex infra) | ὁ (sec.) | vacet in alio art. ὁ in marg. U<sup>3</sup> || 10-11 ὁ ἐνεστὼς... παρῳχημένος καὶ deest in C || 11 ἐστὶ deest in d | κατ' αὐτοὺς transp. post γινόμενος (10) Heintz | παρῳχημένος καὶ μέλλων rep. P3 | καὶ μέλλων, παρῳχημένος deest in T (add. in marg. T<sup>2</sup>) || 11-12 μέλλων, παρῳχημένος...δὲ ὅτι τὸν deest in Va (corr. in marg. Va<sup>2</sup>) || 13 οὔτε τοίνυν ci. Bury | λειπομένων P3P5Va | δυοῖν fg (corr. sup. lin. U<sup>3</sup>) || 16 χρόνος] χρόνους B || 16-19 καὶ τὸ μὲν...ἀλλ' ἀμερὴς] καὶ τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον, οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ ἐνεστὼς τὸ δὲ μέλλων· ὧν τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ μέλλ' ἀμερὴς Va (corr. in marg. [sed μεριστόν ἐστίν ἢ ἀμερὴς transp.] va<sup>2</sup>) || 17 ἐνεστὸς EOPP3P4R || 18 ἐστὶ (pr.)] ἐστὶ E | ἐνεστὸς OPP3P4P6R || 20 δύναται [(δύνα] γίνεσθαι P4 | γίνεσθαι CESP5VNa γί[γ sup. lin.]νεσθαι P3 | ὥς] ὡ P7 || 21 γίνεσθαι Es||

47. What has been composed from nonexistents is nonexistent. Chronos, since it is composed from what has past and no longer is and from what is future and is not yet,<sup>145</sup> will be nonexistent.<sup>146</sup>

48. In another way, if chronos is indivisible,<sup>147</sup> how do we say that the past, the present, and the future are parts of it? If it is divisible, since everything that is divisible is measured by a part of itself (as a cubit by a palm, the palm by a finger), it will be necessary that chronos also be measured by one of its parts. Neither is it possible to measure the other chronoi with the present, since indeed the becoming and present chronos will be the same as the past and future (in respect to them)--past because it measures past chronos, future because it measures the future chronos, which is absurd.<sup>148</sup> So then, one must not measure the present by one of the remaining two. For this reason, it must not thus be said that there is a chronos.

49. Besides these things, chronos is tripartite,<sup>149</sup> and one part is past, one present, and one future. Of these, the past is no longer, the future is not yet,<sup>150</sup> and the present is either indivisible or divisible. But it would not be indivisible, for in the indivisible, nothing divisible is able to come into being<sup>151</sup>--as Timon says--such as coming-into-being and perishing.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>145</sup>On the past and future as nonexistents, cf. Parmenides fr. 8 (Diels/Kranz 235.1-6). According to Parmenides, everything is one and continuous; the acceptance of a past and a future implies the capacity of something to come-into-being or to perish. See n. 151 *infra*.

<sup>146</sup>This paragraph parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (217b33-218a3).

<sup>147</sup>On rhythm being divisible, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.6 and Bacchius *Intro.* 89 (Jan 312.12-13).

<sup>148</sup>This parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (218a6-8).

<sup>149</sup>On chronos as tripartite, cf. Plutarch *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 41 (1081F) and *Septem sapientium convivium* 9 (153B).

<sup>150</sup>This parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (217b33-34).

<sup>151</sup>Cf. Parmenides fr. 8 (Diels/Kranz 235.6-238.41). Parmenides denies the possibility of passing from nonbeing to being and vice-versa. See also Peters, p. 68.

<sup>152</sup>This quote of Timon is also found in Sextus Empiricus *N.* 10.197. On Timon, see Introduction, pp. 7-8.

50. Καὶ ἄλλως, εἴπερ ἀμερές ἐστὶ τὸ ἐνεστώδες τοῦ χρόνου, οὔτε ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἀφ' ἧς ἀρχεται, οὔτε πέρας ἐφ' ὃ καταλήγει, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μέσον· καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐνεστώδης χρόνος. εἰ δὲ μεριστός ἐστίν, εἰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς μὴ ὄντας χρόνους μερίζεται, οὐκ ἔσται χρόνος, εἰ δ' εἰς τοὺς ὄντας χρόνους, οὐκ ἔσται ὅλος ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ τινὰ μὲν ἔσται τινὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔσται. τοίνυν οὐδέν ἐστι χρόνος, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πόδες, οὐδὲ ῥυθμοί, οὐδ' ἡ περὶ τοῦς ῥυθμοὺς ἐπιστήμη.

51. Τοσαῦτα πραγματικῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς μουσικῆς εἰπόντες  
10 ἀρχὰς ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν.

1 ἐνεστώδης OPP3P6RP4(?) || 2 ἐφ' ᾧ Chouet Fabr. | κατακαταλήγει Mo || 3 οὐδὲ] οὐ δὲ U || 3-4 εἰ δὲ...χρόνους rep.P5 || 4 μερίζεται deest in T (add. in marg.T<sup>2</sup>) || 5 χρόνος, εἰ...οὐκ ἔσται deest in T (add. in marg.T<sup>2</sup>) | ὅλως c. var. lect. sup. lin. ὅλος MTa || 6 μὲν deest in P6 || 8 ἡ deest in U οἱ P6 || 9 τὰς deest in P5 (add. sup. lin.P5<sup>2</sup>) || 10 τοῦτοις P6 || ad finem: Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς CP3P5P7Vf Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς τέλος MoP6Ve Σέξτου Ἐ[μ add. sup. lin.]πειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς τέλος: Fine librorum πρὸς μαθημαθ[ι]κοὺς T Τέλος πρὸς μουσικοὺς Fi Τέλος τῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα U<sup>3</sup> πρὸς μαθηματικούς, τέλος P2||

50. In another way, if indeed the present part of chronos is indivisible, it has neither a beginning from which it begins nor a limit at which it leaves off, nor, because of this, a middle, and so there will not be the present chronos. If it is divisible and if it is divided into the chronoi that are not, there will be no chronos;<sup>153</sup> but if it is divided into the chronoi that are, the chronos will not be whole: rather, some of its parts will be and some will not be. So then, chronos is nothing, and because of this, neither are there feet, nor rhythms, nor the science of rhythms.<sup>154</sup>

51. Having said so many things in a practical manner against the principles of music, with so many things we bring to completion the exposition against the subjects of learning.

<sup>153</sup>Cf. Plutarch *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 41 (1082A).

<sup>154</sup>Note the second mode of the five of Agrippa (see Introduction, p. 15).

# INDEX VERBORUM

ἀγαθός, 140.3; 148.8; κρεῖττων, 134.5  
 Ἀγαμέμνων, 132.15, 21; 146.2, 5  
 ἀγεννηής, 164.7  
 ἀγωνία, 144.8  
 ἀδελφρετός, 166.9  
 ἀεὶ, 130.7; 146.8; 154.2  
 ἀεὶδεσθαι, 138.4  
 Ἀθηναῖος, 134.8  
 Ἀγγισθος, 132.16  
 αἰδεῖσθαι, 134.4  
 αἰρετός, 152.13  
 αἰσθάνεσθαι, 156.14  
 αἰσθησις, 158.8; 160.9; 170.2, 3 *bis*  
 αἰσθητός, 156.11, 14, 16; 158.5; 168.11, 12; 170.3, 4, 5  
 αἰτία, 162.3; 178.14  
 αἶτις, 144.7  
 αἰφνυδίων (adv.), 130.4  
 ἀκέρως, 142.17  
 ἀκοή, 156.11, 14; 158.3; 160.4, 13  
 ἀκολασία, 152.16  
 ἀκολουθεῖν, 176.6  
 ἀκούμεν, 142.5; 152.10  
 ἄκουσμα, 140.1  
 ἀκρατής, 144.13  
 ἀκρόαμα, 148.8; 150.6  
 ἀλέα, 152.1  
 ἀληθής, 154.11, 13  
 ἀλλήλος, 140.12; 158.13  
 ἄλλος, 124.6, 8; 132.12; 140.12; 144.4; 146.13; 169.2, 9;  
 172.4, 6, 13; 178.9-10; ἄλλως, 168.13  
 ἄλογος, 152.4  
 ἀμαθής, 134.6  
 ἀμέλει (adv.), 138.3  
 ἀμερής, 178.4, 18, 19 *bis*; 180.1  
 ἀμερῶς, 160.5  
 ἀναβαίνειν, 162.2  
 ἀναγκαῖος, 126.1; 150.7; 152.2; ἀναγκαιότερος, 126.10;  
 ἀναγκαιότατος, 136.2

ἀναιρεῖν, 168.11; ἀναιρεῖσθαι, 126.6; 168.3  
 ἀνακάμπτειν, 142.11  
 ἀνάλογος, 162.3  
 ἀναμφισβητήτως, 156.10  
 ἀνάπαλιν, 152.15  
 ἀνασκευή, 126.4  
 ἀνδρεία, 130.6; 132.2; 144.11  
 ἀνδρικός, 144.7  
 ἀνῆρ, 146.3  
 ἀνθέλκειν, 144.5, 9  
 ἀνθρώπινος, 128.3; 164.3  
 ἄνθρωπος, 142.5  
 ἀνιέναι, 162.3  
 ἀντιβαίνειν, 152.15  
 ἀντικρίπτειν, 152.15  
 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, 152.11; 156.12  
 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, 156.13  
 ἀντιπόλεις, 146.14  
 ἀντίρροποις, 124.6, 9; 126.5; 156.2  
 ἀνύπαρκτος, 168.6; 178.1 *bis*, 3  
 ἀνυπόστατος, 156.8; 172.15  
 ἄνωθεν, 156.9  
 ἀνωμάλως, 160.3, 12  
 ἀνώτερον, 150.1  
 ἀνωφελής, 146.19  
 ἀξιολογία, 146.13  
 ἀξιολογῆσθαι, 126.4  
 ἀπαρτίζειν, 180.10  
 ἄσας, 164.1  
 ἄπειρος, 176.10, 13  
 ἀποδέχεσθαι, 128.3, 4; 146.11-12  
 ἀποδιδόναι, 132.13  
 ἀποδιδόναι, 156.10  
 ἀπολαύειν, 152.3  
 ἀπολείπειν, 132.14  
 ἀπορητικώτερον (*adv.*), 126.4  
 ἀπορία, 172.14  
 ἀποτελεῖσθαι, 142.1  
 ἀποτελεσμα, 128.6; 172.1  
 ἀρετή, 152.16  
 Ἀριστοξένος, 120.3  
 ἀρμόζεσθαι, 134.2  
 ἀρμονία, 150.1; 154.8, 11, 14; 166.5 *bis*  
 ἀρμονικός, 166.8  
 ἀρνέσθαι, 146.14  
 ἄρσις, 174.2 *bis*; 176.1  
 ἀρχαῖος, 136.3, 9; 164.4  
 ἄρχειν, 128.1; ἄρχεσθαι, 180.2  
 ἀρχή, 130.5; 132.21; 156.3; 172.13; 180.2, 10

ἀρχῆθεν, 142.11  
 ἀρχικός, 126.5  
 ἀστεῖος, 164.6  
 ἀσύμφορος, 146.15  
 ἀσώματος, 168.13, 15  
 ἄσματος, 146.7  
 ἄτοπος, 176.16; 178.13  
 ἀύλητής, 130.3; 142.19  
 αὐλός, 120.5; 130.8; 140.4; 144.1, 6; 152.4, 5  
 αὐστηρός, 166.5  
 αὐτίκα, 132.17  
 αὐτόθεν, 154.8  
 αὐτός, 146.4  
 ἀφή, 156.16; 158.1, 6  
 ἀφιστάναί, 126.4-5; 172.13-14  
 ἄφρων, 132.1  
 ἀφύλακτος, 132.20  
 ἀχθοφορεῖν, 144.3  
 Ἀχιλλεύς, 132.4; 144.12  
 βαθυγῆρας, 134.3  
 βάρβαρος, 144.10  
 βαρύς, 156.15; 158.2, 3; 160.1; βαρύτερος, 158.9 (τὸ -ον);  
 162.2-3 (τὸ -ον)  
 βαρύτης, 158.14  
 βάσανος, 144.5  
 βιαστικώτερον (*adv.*), 128.5  
 βίος, 128.3; 158.1  
 βιωφελής, 138.1; 142.8; 144.3  
 βλαπτικός, 126.2  
 βουκινίζειν, 144.10  
 βούλεσθαι, 142.17  
 βραχύς, 170.7, 8  
 βροντή, 140.9  
 γαμεῖν, 146.10  
 γένεσις, 172.2, 3  
 γένος, 160.6; 164.3; 168.5; 172.11  
 γεύεσθαι, 152.9  
 γεῦσις, 156.13; 160.7, 12  
 γευστός, 160.8  
 γίνεσθαι, 134.3; 138.3; 140.9; 148.8; 152.1, 11; 156.14; 158.8;  
 168.10; 172.3, 4; 176.3, 11; 178.10, 20, 21  
 γινώσκειν, 132.10  
 γλυκύς, 156.13  
 γραμματική, 124.9; 150.1  
 γραμματικός, 146.19; 170.9  
 γυναικώδης, 136.8  
 γύνη, 132.14; 146.1  
 δάκτυλος, 178.8

δέεσθαι, 150.3  
 δεικνύναι, 146.20; 156.5; 170.6; 176.4; δεικνύσθαι, 126.2;  
 154.12; 168.6  
 δειλότερος, 132.2  
 δεισιδαίμων, 140.11  
 δελφύς, 152.5  
 δεῖν, 178.8  
 δέος, 166.1  
 δεύτερος, 156.2; 162.10  
 Δημόκριτος, 168.11  
 διαβάλλεσθαι, 126.2; 134.6; 154.11  
 διαβόητος, 130.6  
 διάθεσις, 132.11  
 διαλυτικός, 166.2-3  
 διάνοια, 140.3; 142.9, 11-12, 15; 144.7; 148.2  
 διὰ πασῶν, 162.8-9  
 διὰ πέντε, 162.8 *bis*  
 διάστημα, 162.1, 3-4, 6, 9; 164.1; 172.10  
 διασύρειν, 134.8  
 διὰ τεσσάρων, 162.7  
 διάτονον, 166.5, 7, 9, 10 *bis*  
 διαφέρειν, 130.2; 158.13  
 διαφθεύρειν, 132.20  
 διαφορά, 160.14; 166.10  
 διάφωνος, 160.2, 3, 12; 162.4, 5, 6, 9  
 διδασκαλία, 126.7, 12  
 διδάσκειν, 124.10; 146.19; 168.14  
 δίδοσθαι, 140.7  
 διεγερτικός, 140.8; 142.5, 6  
 διελέγχειν, 146.4  
 διεξιέναι, 172.8  
 διέξοδος, 126.10; 180.10  
 δίεσις, 162.10, 11  
 διεσπασμένως, 160.4, 13  
 διοικεῖσθαι, 150.2; 154.9, 11-12  
 διπλασίων, 162.12  
 διπλοῦς, 162.11  
 διττός, 124.9  
 δίψος, 152.1  
 δόγμα, 126.8  
 δογματικός, 168.7; δογματικώτερον (adv.), 124.10  
 δοκεῖν, 124.8; 126.7; 168.12  
 δόξα, 140.9  
 δοξάζεσθαι, 140.12  
 δρᾶν, 144.4  
 δραστηκός, 166.3  
 δύναμις, 142.8  
 δύνασθαι, 132.10; 134.1; 142.18; 146.18; 148.2; 152.2; 154.13;  
 178.20

δυνατός, 126.12; 178.9  
 δύο, 166.10; 178.13  
 δυσώδης, 156.13  
 ἐαυτός, 144.9; 146.1  
 ἐγείρειν, 146.10  
 ἐγχειρεῖν, 148.4  
 ἐγχειρίζεσθαι, 172.14  
 ἔθειν, 124.1; 128.2  
 ἔθος, 132.12  
 εἰδήμων, 152.13  
 εἰδησις, 148.10; 154.4  
 εἶδος, 124.10; 156.1; 170.4  
 εἰκέναι, 152.6  
 εἰπεῖν, 180.9  
 εἶς, 120.1; 158.7, 11; 172.9  
 εἰσακτέον, 154.7  
 ἐκάτερος, 126.8; 156.16; 160.6, 11; 176.14  
 ἐκβαλεῖσθαι, 130.1  
 ἔκγονος, 136.2-3  
 ἔκθεσις, 126.11  
 ἐκκαίεσθαι, 132.3  
 ἐκκλίνειν, 142.17  
 ἔκλυσις, 142.13  
 ἐκμελής, 156.5; 172.12  
 ἔκρυθμος, 156.5  
 ἐκφρέσθαι, 158.7  
 ἐλάττων: v. μικρός  
 ἐλάχιστος: v. μικρός  
 Ἑλλάς, 130.6  
 ἐλπιδοκοπεῖν, 146.8  
 ἐμμελής, 152.3; 156.4; 158.10; 172.12  
 ἐμπειρία, 120.4-5; 152.2, 7  
 ἐμποιεῖν, 142.13; 158.1; 164.6  
 ἐναντίος, 146.14-15 (τὸ -ον)  
 ἐνεῖμεν, 172.6  
 ἐνύοτε, 124.1  
 ἐνιστάναι, 176.13; 178.5, 9, 10, 13, 17, 18; 180.1, 3  
 ἔννοια, 152.7  
 ἐνόπλιος, 130.9  
 ἐνρυθμος, 130.9; 156.5  
 ἐντελέστατος, 124.8  
 ἐντραχὺς, 166.7  
 ἐντυποῦν, 160.11  
 ἐξαποστέλλεσθαι, 132.4  
 ἑπανδρος, 136.10  
 ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, 142.18  
 ἐπανόρθωσις, 142.19; 146.5  
 ἐπαυλεῖν, 130.3  
 ἐπεγερτικός, 144.7

ἐπεύγειν, 126.11  
 ἐπέχειν, 138.6; 174.3  
 ἐπιδέχασθαι, 146.8  
 ἐπιθυμία, 146.8  
 Ἐπικούρειος, 140.10  
 Ἐπίκουρος, 146.14  
 ἐπικουφίζειν, 140.5  
 ἐκίπνονος, 144.4  
 ἐπιστήμη, 120.1; 156.4; 172.11, 16, 17; 176.7; 180.8  
 ἐπιτάττειν, 128.5  
 ἐπιτιθέναι, 132.21  
 ἐκίτριπτος, 134.7  
 ἐπιφάνεια, 140.10-11  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν, 124.10; 170.1  
 ἔπος, 138.4  
 ἐπιδόξ, 138.2  
 ἔργον, 124.3; 144.4, 6; 156.11  
 ἔρευν, 168.4; 176.11; 174.1; ἐρεῖσθαι, 144.2  
 ἐρέσσειν, 144.4; ἐρέσσεσθαι, 152.6  
 ἔρως, 164.5  
 ἔρωτικός, 144.13  
 ἐστία, 146.6  
 ἕτερος, 120.4  
 εὐάγωγος, 152.16  
 εὐδαιμονία, 126.1; 146.12; 154.10  
 εὐένδοτος, 164.5  
 εὐήθης, 146.17  
 εὐχρηστιά, 146.18  
 εὐώδης, 156.12  
 εὐωχία, 140.2  
 ἐφύεσθαι, 152.16  
 ἐφοδεύειν, 126.9  
 ἔχειν, 134.3; 142.8; 144.6; 152.7; 156.3; 158.14; 160.10;  
 164.2; 166.10; 168.2; 176.4; 178.16; 180.2  
 Ζεύς, 124.6; 146.1  
 ζήλος, 140.3  
 ζητεῖν, 170.9-10  
 ζήτησις, 156.4  
 ζωγραφία, 124.3  
 ζωγράφος, 124.4  
 ζῷον, 152.4  
 ἡγεῖσθαι, 130.6  
 ἡδεσθαι, 152.9, 10  
 ἡθοποιεῖν, 150.4  
 ἡθοποιός, 154.9  
 ἡθος, 142.19; 164.2, 3, 8; 166.1, 6  
 ἡμεῖς, 126.7; 128.5; 142.4; 150.3; 160.7; 168.6  
 ἡμέτερος, 140.9

ἡμιτόνιον, 162.10-11, 12; 166.12  
 ἥρως, 132.12; 146.1  
 ἡστικός, 152.12  
 ἡσυχάζεσθαι, 142.10  
 ἥττον, 176.9  
 ἦχος, 158.9  
 θεᾶσθαι, 130.2  
 θέατρον, 142.5  
 θέλγειν, 128.5  
 θεός, 140.2, 10  
 θεραπεύεσθαι, 142.11  
 θέσις, 174.2, 3; 176.1  
 θεωρεῖσθαι, 174.3  
 θεώρημα, 150.3  
 θεωρία, 168.1  
 θηλύνειν, 136.9  
 θλᾶν, 158.3  
 θλάσις, 158.1  
 θνητός, 136.5  
 θρηνώδης, 166.7  
 θρυλεῖσθαι, 128.2  
 θυσία, 140.2  
 ἰδικώτερος, 166.9  
 ἰδλος, 146.6; 156.11, 14; 160.11  
 ἰδῶμα, 160.6  
 ἰδῶτης, 140.11; 148.7; 150.6, 7; 152.11  
 Ἰθάκη, 146.10  
 Ἰλιν, 146.9  
 ἱππος, 142.4, 6  
 ἴσος, 140.12 (ἐπ' ἴσης); 158.7 (ἐπ' ἴσης)  
 ἱστορεῖν, 164.4  
 καθάπτεσθαι, 156.3  
 καθιστάναι, 124.8; 142.8; 172.10, 15; 176.13  
 καλεῖν, 158.5; καλεῖσθαι, 158.9; 160.2; 162.10; 164.7; 166.11,  
 12  
 κάρος, 142.13  
 καταγίνεσθαι, 120.3; 148.1, 2  
 καταγνύναι, 134.8  
 κατακοῦειν, 152.3  
 κατακτείνειν, 146.6  
 καταλαμβάνειν, 136.2; καταλαμβάνεσθαι, 132.4  
 καταλήγειν, 180.2  
 καταμετρεῖν, 178.9, 12; καταμετρεῖσθαι, 178.7, 8-9; καταμετρη-  
 τέον, 178.14  
 κατάρχεσθαι, 156.9  
 κατασκευαστικός, 166.6  
 κατασταλτικός, 140.8  
 καταστέλλειν, 128.4; 142.9, 14  
 καταχρηστικώτερον (adv.), 124.1

κατορθοῦν, 124.5  
κατόρθωσις, 124.2  
κελεύειν, 144.4  
κεντεῖν, 156.17  
κερδαίνειν, 152.12  
κεφαλαιωδέστερον (adv.), 126.8-9  
κηλεῖσθαι, 152.4  
κιθαριστής, 134.4  
κινεῖν, 160.4, 9, 13; κινεῖσθαι, 162.2  
κίνημα, 164.7  
κίνησις, 130.9  
κλᾶσθαι, 136.8  
Κλυταιμνήστρα, 132.15, 20; 146.3, 6  
κοιμῶνται, 152.3-4  
κοινός, 164.8; 166.4  
κοσμεῖν, 138.2  
κόσμος, 150.2; 154.8, 12  
κράσις, 160.8  
κρεῖττων: v. ἀγαθός  
κρύος, 152.1  
κρυπεῖν, 144.10  
κτύπος, 140.10; 142.1  
Κυρήνη, 168.8  
κυρίως, 122.1  
κωμῶδα, 136.3  
λαγνεῖα, 154.1  
λαμβάνειν, 132.20; 156.17; 176.6  
Λάμπων, 134.4  
λέγειν, 120.4; 134.5; 136.4; 146.14, 19; 150.1, 6; 154.10;  
156.8; 170.1; 178.5; λέγεσθαι, 120.1; 122.2; 126.3; 138.4,  
6; 140.6; 148.5, 6; 166.4; 172.4, 9, 11; λεκτέον, 144.12;  
178.14  
λέειπεσθαι, 146.13; 154.8; 178.13  
λέως, 160.9  
λέξις, 170.9; 176.2  
λευκός, 158.4  
λήθη, 142.13  
λήμα, 144.7  
λιγυρός, 166.7  
λιμός, 152.1  
λόγος, 126.4; 138.6; 148.4; 152.5; 172.6  
λύειν, 142.12  
λυπεῖσθαι, 140.4; 142.14  
λύπη, 140.5; 142.12  
λύρα, 130.8; 138.4; 144.1  
μάθημα, 126.1; 136.2; 180.10  
μαλύνεσθαι, 130.2  
μακαριότης, 154.13

μακρός, 126.10; 132.13; 170.7, 8  
μαλακός, 166.10, 12  
μᾶλλον, 126.2; 128.4; 134.5; 152.11; 156.3; 160.6; μάλιστα,  
132.10  
μαρτυρεῖα, 168.7  
μάρτυς, 136.3  
μάταιος, 142.16  
μέγα (adv.), 134.1; μεζών, 162.8 bis  
μέθη, 130.1  
μεθύειν, 142.16  
μειράκιον, 130.1; 146.8  
μέλας, 158.4  
μέλλειν, 176.14, 15; 178.3, 5, 11, 12 bis, 17, 18  
μελοποιός, 138.3  
μέλος, 130.4; 136.8; 138.5; 140.7; 142.3, 4, 7, 10, 14; 144.7;  
148.1; 150.4; 152.10; 154.9; 156.6, 8; 166.8  
μελῶδειν, 140.4-5; μελῶδεῖσθαι, 166.8  
μελῶδα, 120.2; 152.5; 164.3, 6, 8; 166.4; 168.1; 172.10  
μερίζειν, 138.2; μερίζεσθαι, 180.4  
μεριστός, 178.6 bis, 19, 20; 180.4  
μέρος, 124.3; 170.2; 178.6, 8; 180.6  
μέσος, 126.11; 180.3  
μεταβάλλειν, 130.4-5  
μετάβας, 160.7  
μεταφορά, 158.6  
μεταφορικώτερον (adv.), 156.15-16  
μετρεῖν, 126.11-12  
μηνεῖν, 132.4; 144.12  
μηχανᾶσθαι, 144.8  
μύγμα, 160.11  
μικρός, 144.2; 156.9; ἑλαττων, 146.20; ἐλάχιστος, 162.7, 9  
μινύρισμα, 152.3  
μονοειδῶς, 160.9  
μόνος, 156.11, 12; 168.8; μόνον (adv.), 140.1; 148.1  
μουσικεύειν, 148.6-7; 154.1  
μουσική (n.), 120.1; 122.1, 2; 124.5, 8; 126.1, 6; 128.1, 4;  
130.7; 132.1; 134.8; 136.2, 9, 10; 138.2, 3; 140.2, 6; 142.3,  
7, 8; 144.3, 13; 146.4, 11; 148.1, 5, 10; 150.6; 152.6, 10,  
13; 156.3, 4, 7; 164.1; 168.4; 172.11, 15; 180.9  
μουσικός (n.), 120.4, 5; 126.3, 6; 132.14; 134.2; 150.5; 156.1;  
158.10; 160.15; 162.7; 164.8; 168.2  
μουσικός (adj.), 132.10; 148.7; 150.3; 152.2; 172.10  
μουσοῦσθαι, 124.3, 4  
μοχθηρός, 146.9  
μυθολογεῖν, 146.3  
μύλος, 142.1  
ναῦς, 172.4  
νέος, 154.1  
νήπιος, 152.3



νήφειν, 130.5  
 νοεῖσθαι, 124.5, 7; 170.4; 172.2, 3  
 νοῦς, 136.9; 142.10; 144.5  
 ξένος, 158.4  
 ὄδυρμος, 164.5  
 ὀδυσσεύς, 146.7  
 οἶεσθαι, 126.6  
 οἶκία, 172.3  
 οἶκος, 146.7  
 οἰμωγή, 164.5  
 οἰνογευστική, 152.9  
 οἶνόμελι, 160.9  
 οἶνος, 142.12; 152.9  
 οἶνοφυγία, 164.5  
 οἶονεύ, 158.2  
 ὄλος, 126.6; 150.3; 180.5  
 ὁμαλώτερος, 160.13; ὁμαλώτερον (adv.), 160.4  
 ὄμηρος, 138.4  
 ὅμοιος, 134.2; ὁμοῶς, 142.1; 160.10  
 ὁμολογεῖν, 142.18  
 ὁμόφωνος, 158.12, 12-13, 13, 14; 160.1 *bis*, 2  
 ὀνειδίζειν, 134.5  
 ὄνομα, 124.2  
 ὀνομάζειν, 122.1  
 ὀξύμελι, 160.10  
 ὀξύς, 156.15; 158.1, 3; 160.1; ὀξύτερος, 158.9 (τὸ -ον); 162.2  
 (τὸ -ον)  
 ὀξύτης, 158.13  
 ὀποῖος, 138.6; 148.10; 160.9; 164.4  
 ὀπότερος, 152.6  
 ὀρᾶν, 132.3  
 ὄρασις, 156.11; 158.5  
 ὀργανικός, 120.4  
 ὄργανον, 154.14  
 ὀργή, 132.3, 142.14  
 ὀρμᾶσθαι, 154.6  
 ὀσφρησις, 156.12  
 οὐδαμῶς, 142.5  
 ὄχλος, 146.7  
 ὀφαρτυτική, 152.8  
 ὀψιμαθής, 134.5  
 ὄψον, 152.9  
 πάθος, 128.4; 146.5; 152.12; 168.9 *bis*, 10  
 παῖς, 140.10; 150.2  
 πάλαι, 138.4  
 παλαιός, 134.8  
 παλαιστής, 178.7 *bis*  
 πάλιν, 142.10; 160.2; 162.9; 166.8  
 παμπληθής, 172.4

πανοῦργος, 132.16-17  
 πάντως: v. πᾶς  
 παραδιδόναι, 136.3  
 παράδοξος, 144.13  
 παραινέειν, 130.2  
 παραινέσις, 130.8  
 παρακατατίθεσθαι, 146.2  
 παραπλήσιος, 120.2-3  
 παρασκευάζειν, 154.1  
 παρατάσσεσθαι, 130.9  
 παραύξειν, 146.9  
 παρεῖναι, 176.15  
 παρέκτασις, 172.2  
 παρέλκειν, 126.9  
 παρέχειν, 138.2  
 παρηγορεῖν, 132.2  
 παρηγόρημα, 140.4  
 παριστάναι, 156.7; 172.17; 176.8, 9  
 παρούχεσθαι, 176.13, 15; 178.2, 5, 11 *bis*, 12, 17 *bis*  
 πᾶς, 126.4; 164.2; 168.1, 11; πάντως, 156.5  
 πειθῶ, 128.6  
 πενθεῖν, 140.4  
 περαίνεσθαι, 176.10, 11, 14  
 πέρας, 180.2  
 περιάγεσθαι, 142.2  
 περιγύνεσθαι, 128.6; 132.11  
 περιγράφεσθαι, 162.1  
 περιέχεσθαι, 162.5  
 Περιπατητικός, 168.14  
 περισπᾶν, 142.15  
 περισπασμός, 158.8  
 περισπαστικός, 142.9  
 Πηνελόπη, 146.7  
 πῆχυς, 178.7  
 πιέζειν, 158.2  
 πικρός, 156.13  
 πιστεύεσθαι, 146.5  
 πιστότατος, 132.13  
 Πλάτων, 134.1; 146.11; 168.11  
 πλεῖων: v. πολὺς  
 πλοῦν, 132.13  
 ποιεῖν, 130.4; ποιεῖσθαι, 124.6; 126.12; 130.9; 136.1  
 ποιητής, 132.4 (Homer); 136.4 (Aristophanes); 138.3  
 ποιητική (n.), 138.1; 146.7, 20; 148.2  
 ποιητικός (adj.), 166.1; 168.10  
 ποικίλως, 154.12  
 ποιός, 142.14; 150.4  
 ποιότης, 160.7, 11  
 πολεμεῖν, 130.7; 144.1, 10

πόλεμος, 144.6; 146.10  
 πολλάκις, 174.1  
 πολὺς, 122.2; 128.2, 4; 136.1; 168.14; πλεῖων, 152.12, 14 (ἐπὶ  
 πλεῖον); πλεῖον (adv.), 142.18; 148.7; πλέον (adv.), 150.5  
 πόμα, 152.1  
 ποσός, 176.9  
 ποσότης, 174.3  
 ποῦς, 146.4 (παρὰ πόδας); 174.2 bis; 176.3 bis, 5; 180.7  
 πράγμα, 120.3; 124.2; 126.8; 148.10; 156.6-7; 168.12  
 πραγματεία, 132.10  
 πραγματικῶς, 180.9; πραγματικώτερος, 156.3  
 πρεσβευτής, 132.5  
 προηγέσθαι, 126.3  
 προηγουμένως, 148.5  
 προκεῖσθαι, 124.6  
 πρόνοια, 136.1  
 προσδοκῶν, 152.14  
 προπαιδεύεσθαι, 148.8-9  
 προσαγορεύειν, 124.1; 158.1; 162.7; προσαγορεύεσθαι, 160.2-3;  
 162.4  
 προσδοξάξεσθαι, 142.4  
 προσηγορία, 156.17  
 προσκηρύειν, 142.1  
 προσνήχεσθαι, 152.5-6  
 προστάσσεσθαι, 130.4  
 πρότερον, 144.2  
 προτρέπειν, 132.2; προτρέπεσθαι, 132.20-21; 140.3; 144.11  
 πρόχειρος, 140.7  
 πρῶτος, 124.7; 156.1; 162.6, 10; πρῶτον (adv.), 128.1; 140.7;  
 142.16; 150.7; 156.8  
 πτώσις, 158.11; 172.9  
 πυθαγόρας, 130.1; 142.16  
 πυθαγορικός, 150.2  
 πυρρωνεῖα, 172.7; 176.8  
 ῥητέον, 146.12  
 ῥυθμοποιία, 120.2; 172.14  
 ῥυθμός, 136.8-9; 156.6; 172.15, 16, 16-17, 17; 174.1; 176.3,  
 6, 7; 180.8 bis  
 σαλεύειν, 126.5  
 σάλπιγξ, 144.6  
 σαφῶς, 132.10; σαφέστερος, 160.6  
 σεμνός, 164.6  
 σεμνότης, 136.1; 166.6  
 σημαίνειν, 140.11; σημαίνεσθαι, 122.2; 124.7  
 σκάφος, 152.6  
 σκεπτικός, 168.6  
 σκυθρωπός, 164.4  
 σοβεῖσθαι, 142.14-15  
 Σόλων, 130.8

σοφία, 152.15  
 σοφός, 134.2  
 Σπαρτιάτης, 130.7; 144.1  
 Σπίνθαρος, 120.3  
 σπονδεῖος, 130.3  
 σπουδάζεσθαι, 144.9, 14  
 στάσιμον, 138.5  
 στέλλεσθαι, 132.13  
 στιβαρώτερος, 164.4  
 Στοά, 168.15  
 στοιχεῖον, 148.9; 154.6; 176.1  
 στρατεία, 146.10  
 στρατηγεῖν, 130.7  
 στρόμβος, 144.9  
 συλλαβή, 170.9; 176.2 bis  
 συμβαίνειν, 152.14  
 συμπαταγεῖν, 142.2  
 συμπλέκειν, 146.17-18  
 συμφανής, 154.8; 168.1  
 συμφωνία, 172.10  
 σύμφωνος, 160.3, 4, 13; 162.4, 5 bis, 6  
 συναναίρειν, 168.11-12  
 συναποδεύκνυσθαι, 176.4-5  
 συνεπικομᾶζειν, 130.3  
 συνιστάναι, 174.2; 178.1, 3  
 συντείνειν, 146.12  
 συντίθεσθαι, 176.2  
 σύντονος, 166.11  
 συναφλεῖν, 148.2  
 σύριγξ, 152.4  
 σύστασις, 176.6  
 σύστημα, 174.1  
 συχνός, 172.6  
 Σωκράτης, 134.3  
 σῶμα, 140.12; 168.13, 14  
 σωφρονίζειν, 128.3; 132.1; 142.17; 148.3; σωφρονίζεσθαι, 130.5  
 σωφρονιστήρ, 132.14  
 σωφρονιστικός, 142.9  
 σωφροσύνη, 132.16; 136.1  
 σῶφρων, 146.2  
 τάξις, 128.1  
 ταπεινότερος, 164.7  
 ταρακτικός, 142.6  
 ταραχή, 144.8  
 τάσις, 158.8, 11; 172.9  
 τάχα, 142.6  
 τεκμήριον, 144.2  
 τελευταῖος, 154.10  
 τέμνειν, 156.17; 158.3

τέρπειν, 148.1; τέρπεσθαι, 148.7; 150.5; 152.5, 14  
 τέρπνος, 152.10  
 τέρψις, 150.7  
 τεχνικῶς, 152.11  
 Τύμων, 178.20  
 τοῖτος, 142.3 bis  
 τοιοῦτος, 126.5; 140.6, 9, 11; 142.7, 10; 148.4; 154.13; 158.9;  
 160.8, 14  
 τοιουτοτρόπος, 156.2; 164.8  
 τονικός, 166.12  
 τόνος, 162.11  
 τοσοῦτος, 124.5; 180.9, 10  
 τραγικός, 138.5  
 τρεῖς, 166.11  
 τριμερής, 178.16  
 τρίτος, 162.11  
 τριχῶς, 120.1  
 τρόπος, 120.1; 124.5; 142.2, 12, 18; 152.8; 158.2; 164.1  
 τυγχάνειν, 144.3; 148.9; 154.10; 156.7  
 τύμπανον, 144.10  
 ὑδρομελι, 160.10  
 ὕμνος, 140.2  
 ὑπάγροικος, 166.7-8  
 ὑπαρκτός, 156.6; 168.10  
 ὑπάρχειν, 124.3; 144.8; 152.2; 154.11, 13; 166.6; 168.5, 8,  
 12; 170.2, 5; 176.5  
 ὑπερεκπύπτειν, 126.9-10  
 ὑπερτίθεσθαι, 142.13  
 ὕπνος, 142.12  
 ὑπογράφειν, 158.10  
 ὑποδεικτέον, 172.13  
 ὑπόθεσις, 126.6  
 ὑπομνήσκειν, 170.9  
 ὑπόμνημα, 168.6; 170.6  
 ὑπομνηματίζεσθαι, 172.7  
 ὑπόστασις, 156.9; 164.2; 168.2; 170.4; 172.1-2  
 ὑποστατός, 156.6  
 ὕστερεῖν, 126.10-11  
 φαίνεσθαι, 138.1  
 φαίς, 158.4  
 φάναι, 124.3; 128.2; 134.2, 7; 140.10; 158.10; 168.5, 8; 172.7;  
 178.20  
 φάσκειν, 150.2  
 φθεῖρεσθαι, 178.21  
 φθόγγος, 120.2; 158.9, 10, 12; 160.12, 14; 162.5; 164.2; 168.3,  
 4; 172.8, 9  
 φιλοσοφία, 128.2, 6-7; 134.1; 148.10; 154.7  
 φιλόσοφος, 142.19; 168.8  
 φοιτᾶν, 134.4

φύειν, 148.1  
 φύλαξ, 132.13; 146.2  
 φυσικός, 138.5  
 φύσις, 140.7; 142.3  
 φωνή, 156.10, 14, 15; 158.2, 4, 7, 11; 162.2; 168.5 bis, 9,  
 12, 13, 15; 170.4, 6, 7, 8 bis, 10; 172.1, 5, 8, 9  
 χαίρειν, 140.1  
 χαλεπός, 146.9  
 χαρακτήρ, 126.8  
 χεῖρ, 142.2  
 χλωροποιός, 166.1  
 χλωρός, 166.1  
 χρεῖα, 146.7  
 χρεοῦν, 148.6; 150.6  
 χρεώδης, 138.2; 148.6; 154.7, 9  
 χρεωκοπεῖν, 126.8  
 χρῆ, 134.7  
 χρῆσθαι, 120.5; 130.8; 144.6; 154.9; 158.6; 160.7; 172.6  
 χρονικός, 172.2  
 χρόνος, 174.3; 176.1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12 ter, 14, 16; 178.2,  
 4, 10 bis, 12, 15, 16; 180.1, 3, 4, 5 bis, 6, 7  
 χρώμα, 144.6; 156.12; 166.4, 6, 9, 11  
 ψαλτήριον, 120.5  
 ψαλτρία, 122.1  
 ψευδός, 154.12  
 ψυχή, 134.2; 140.8; 142.14; 150.4; 152.15; 164.6; 170.2, 5  
 ψυχικός, 128.3  
 ψῶδος, 146.1

# INDEX NOMINUM ET RERUM

- Abert, Hermann, 24n.83, 145n.59  
 Achilles, 20-21, 25, 27, 33, 132-33, 144-45, 147n.67  
*Adversus mathematicos*: see Sextus Empiricus, writings  
 Aegisthus, 21, 132-33  
 Aelian, 125n.8, 133n.29, 153n.85, n.87  
 Aenesidemus, 10; modes of, 10-15, 21, 127n.14, 143n.53, 147n.71  
 Agamemnon, 20-21, 146-47  
 Agrippa, 15; modes of, 15-16, 127n.14, 147n.76, 171n.125, 181n.154  
 Alexandria, 4-5  
 Allen, W. Sidney, 175n.138  
 Ambiguity, argument from, 30-32, 177n.141  
 Anaxarchus, 6  
 Anderson, Warren, 25n.83, 145n.59, 149n.79  
 Andronicus, 129n.18  
 anger, 20, 33, 132-33, 144-45  
 animals, 11-12; effects of music on, 22, 34, 152-53  
 Antigonus, 7  
 Apollodorus, 177n.144  
 appearance, 9-18, 169n.123  
 Arcesilaus, 8-10  
 Archytas, 151n.82  
 Aricius, 2  
 Aristides Quintilianus, 121n.1-2, 123n.4, 125n.8-9, 129n.19-20, 131n.22-23, n.27, 135n.33, 137n.40, 141n.47, n.50, 143n.59, 145n.64-65, n.67, 149n.80, 151n.82, 155n.91, n.95, 157n.96, 159n.102, 161n.104-105, 163n.109, 165n.111-12, 167n.115, 173n.136, 175n.138, n.140, 177n.141  
 Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 125n.8; *Equites*, 125n.8; *Aves*, 135n.35; *Nubes*, 135n.36, 136-37; *Ranae*, 145n.62  
 Aristophanes, Scholiast on, 125n.8, 135n.35, 139n.44  
 Aristotle, 11, 24, 28-33, 121n.3, 169n.123; *Topica*, 28-32, 159n.102; *Politica*, 31, 125n.8, 135n.33, 143n.52, n.58, 145n.65, 149n.78-79, 151n.83, 153n.88-89, 155n.91; *De anima*, 31-32, 135n.33, 157n.99, 171n.124; *De audibilibus*, 123n.5, 159n.102; *Physica*, 32-33, 173n.128, 177n.143, 179n.146, n.148, n.150; *Problemata*, 123n.6, 141n.50; *Ethica Nicomachea*, 127n.13, 155n.91; *De mundo*, 131n.25, 151n.82; *Poetica*, 139n.41, n.44; *De caelo*, 155n.95; *De partibus animalium*,

157n.98; *Analytica posteriora*, 163n.109; *Meteorologica*, 167n.114  
 Aristoxenus, 35, 120-21, 131n.24, 137n.36, 157n.96, 159n.103, 161n.105, 163n.109, 167n.115-16, 175n.138, 177n.141, 179n.147  
 Aristoxenian, 24, 35, 121n.2, 167n.117  
 arsis, 23, 29, 157n.96, 174-77  
 arithmetic, 18  
 arts, 18, 123n.4, 125n.8-9, 139n.41  
 Asclepius, 3  
 astrology, 18  
 astronomy, 18n.75, 151n.82  
 ataraxia, 7, 17, 24  
 Athenaeus, 123n.6, 131n.26, 135n.35, 137n.38, 139n.42-43, 145n.63, 153n.85-86  
 Athenians, 4, 131n.26, 134-35  
 Athens, 4-5  
 aulos, 34, 122-23, 130-31, 140-41, 144-45, 147n.72, 152-53  
 Bacchius, 121n.1, 157n.96, 159n.103, 161n.105, 163n.109, 165n.111, 167n.115, 169n.118, 175n.138, n.140, 179n.147  
 Bandini, A. M., 68  
 barbarians, 144-45  
 Barbera, C. André, 163n.110, 167n.117  
 bard, 20-21, 25, 132-33, 146-47  
 Becker, Heinz, 123n.5  
 becoming, 23, 169n.120, 172-73, 178-79  
 being, 173n.128, 179n.151  
 Bekker, Immanuel, 108, 114-15, 118  
 Bellermann's Anonymous, 121n.1, n.4, 131n.23, 159n.103, 163n.109, 167n.115, 173n.136, 175n.138  
 body, 12, 23, 35, 157n.98, 168-69  
 Boethius, 131n.21  
 Boyancé, Pierre, 151n.82  
 Bury, R. G., 2n.6, 115, 118  
 Caesar Strategos, 71, 74  
 Carneades, 8-10  
 Chadwick, Henry, 2n.3  
 Cheiron, 27  
 Choeroboscus, Georgius, 175n.140  
 Chouet, Peter and Jacob, 81, 108, 110-13, 118  
 chronos, 23, 30-33, 121n.2, 157n.96, 171n.127, 176-81; limited and unlimited, 23, 176-77; divisible and indivisible, 23, 33, 178-81; see also future; past; present  
 Cicero, 8n.37, 10, 135n.35, 141n.48  
 circular reasoning, 16  
 Cleonides, 121n.1-2, n.4, 159n.103, 163n.109, 165n.112, 167n.115-16  
 Clytemnestra, 20-21, 25, 132-33, 146-47  
 Coans, 4  
 color: see genera, melodic

comedy, 136-37  
 coming into being: see becoming  
 Connus, 135n.35  
 consonance, 172-73  
 consonant: see intervals; notes  
 Cornford, Francis M., 151n.82  
 cosmos, 22, 26, 150-51, 154-55  
 Coxe, H. O., 43  
 Craster, H. H. E., 46  
 Crocker, Richard, 163n.110  
 customs, 17-18  
 cyclical studies, 18-19, 26  
 Cynics, 125n.11  
 Cyrenaics, 23, 168-69  
 Dalrymple, James, of Ayr, 46  
 Damon, 131n.21  
 definition, 29, 32, 157n.97; see also music; notes; rhythm  
 Delphic Hymns: see hymns  
 Democritus, 23, 168-69  
 Denholm-Young, N., 46  
 desire, 129n.18  
 Devarius, Matthaeus, 65, 97, 103, 107  
 diastaltic: see ethos  
 diatonic: see genera, melodic  
 diction, 131n.23, 157n.96  
 Didymus, 175n.138  
 Diels, Hermann, 2n.3  
 diesis: see intervals  
 Diogenes Laertius, 1-3, 5-8, 125n.11, 141n.51, 169n.121  
 Diogenes the Cynic, 127n.12  
 Dioscorides Pedanius, 2  
 discretion, 20, 27, 128-33, 142-43, 146-49, 155n.91  
 dissonant: see intervals; notes  
 dogmatic, 15, 18-20, 127n.14-15  
 dogmatists, 20-21, 24, 127n.14, 168-69  
 dogmatize, 17  
 Doutzaris, P., 175n.138  
 education, 18-19, 22, 26-28, 31, 125n.9, 126-27, 136-37, 148-49, 153n.89, 154-55  
 effect, 172-73, 128-29  
 Egypt, 5n.19  
 Emmanuel Embenes, 86, 88  
 Empiric School (of physicians), 3-5  
*Empirica hypomnemata*: see Sextus Empiricus, writings  
 Epicureans, 21-22, 24, 26-27, 127n.13, 141n.51  
 Epicurus, 19, 22, 24, 125n.11, 140-41, 146-47  
 Epiphanius, 127n.13  
 epithymetic: see soul  
 Estienne, Henri, 81, 104n.159, 111

ethics, 15  
 ethos, 21-22, 25-26, 28, 142-43, 150-51, 154-55, 164-67;  
   systaltic, 165n.112; diastaltic, 165n.112; hesychastic,  
   165n.112; medial, 165n.112  
 Euclid, 169n.119  
 Euripides, fragment 839 (Nauck), 138-39; *Medea*, 141n.48; frag-  
   ment 184 (Nauck), 146-47; *Elektra*, 153n.87; fragment 187  
   (Nauck), 154-55  
 Eusebius, 7n.29  
 Fabricius, Io. Albertus, 110, 113-14, 118  
 fear, 129n.18, 166-67  
 feasts, 20, 28, 140-41  
 feet (rhythmic), 23, 29, 174-77, 180-81  
 fifth: see intervals  
 fourth: see intervals  
 Frobenius, Wolf, 161n.104  
 Furley, David J., 2n.7, 4n.14  
 future (time), 33, 176-79  
 Galen, 1-3, 131n.21  
 Gardthausen, Victor, 58, 65, 71, 74, 88  
 Gaudentius, 159n.103-104, 161n.105, 163n.109, 167n.115, 169  
   n.119  
 genera, melodic, 23, 30, 35; color, 166-67; harmonia, 135n.33,  
   166-67; diatonic, 166-67  
 genera of metric feet, 121n.2  
 geometry, 18, 26, 151n.82  
 Gernet, Louis, 141n.48  
 Glucker, John, 9n.39  
 good fortune, 126-27, 146-47, 154-55  
 grammar, 18, 124-25, 150-51  
 grammarians, 170-71  
 Gregory, David, 47  
 Greyeff, Felix, 29n.117  
 grief, 140-43  
 Guthrie, W. K. C., 141n.47  
 gymnastics, 137n.37  
 Haar, James, 151n.82  
 Hallie, Philip P., 4n.19, 5n.22, 6n.24, n.27, 7n.30, 8n.32,  
   n.34, n.36, 9n.39, n.41, 10n.44-45  
 Handschin, Jacques, 151n.82  
 happiness, 154-55; see also good fortune  
 Harap, Louis, 151n.83  
 harmonia, 135n.33; of the soul, 20, 26, 134-35; of the cosmos,  
   22, 26-27, 150-51, 154-55; of instruments, 154-55, 157n.95;  
   see also genera, melodic  
 hearing, 13-14, 29, 32, 156-59  
 heart, 140-45, 148-49  
 Heidegger, Martin, 157n.100  
 Heintz, Werner, 118

Henderson, Isobel, 137n.36, 141n.47  
 Hephaestion, 175n.138; Scholiast B on, 175n.140  
 Herodotus (historicus), 131n.26  
 Herodotus of Tarsus, 1-2  
 heroes, 20-21, 132-33, 146-47  
 Hervetus, Gentianus, 107, 109-11, 113-14, 118  
 hesychastic: see ethos  
*Hibeh Papyrus*, 143n.52, 151n.83  
 Hicks, R. D., 1n.1  
 Hippobotus, 8n.35  
 Hippocrates, 166-67  
 Hippolytus, 1-2, 151n.82  
 Homer, 27, 138-39; *Iliad*, 33-34, 132-33, 167n.113; *Odyssey*,  
   132-33, 146-47, 167n.113  
 homophonous: see notes  
 House, D. K., 2n.5, 3n.8, 4n.14, n.18, 5n.19-21  
 Howard, Albert A., 123n.5  
 Huchzermeyer, H. & H., 175n.138  
 Huchzermeyer, Helmut, 123n.5  
 Hunt, R. W., 46  
 hydromel, 161  
 hymns, 20, 28, 140-41, 165n.112; Delphic, 141n.47; of Meso-  
   medes, 141n.47  
*Hymnus Homericus ad Cererem*, 167n.113  
 hypothesis, 15  
 Iamblichus, 131n.21  
*Iatrica hypomnemata*: see Sextus Empiricus, writings  
 infants, 22, 28, 152-53  
 intervals, 23, 30, 35, 162-65, 167n.117, 173; octave, 135n.33,  
   161n.104, 162-63; consonant, 162-63, dissonant, 162-63,  
   fourth, 162-63; fifth, 162-63; diesis, 162-63, 167n.117;  
   semitone, 162-63, 167n.117; tone, 162-63, 167n.117; ditone,  
   167n.117  
 Jan, Karl von, 141n.47, 151n.82  
 Johnson, Charles W. L., 175n.140  
 judgment, 155n.91  
 Kemke, Johannes, 24n.83  
 Kerferd, G. B., 155n.91  
 kithara, 147n.72  
 Koller, Hermann, 18n.74, 139n.41  
 Koster, Willem John Wolff, 175n.138  
 Kudlien, Fridolf, 2  
 Lacedaemonians: see Spartans  
 Laloy, Louis, 121n.3  
 Lampon, 134-35  
 Lamprus, 135n.35  
 Langlois, Yves, 149n.79  
 Lasserre, François, 137n.37  
 laws, 17-18

learning: see education  
 Leophantus, 175n.138  
 Libya, 5n.19  
 Lippman, Edward A., 135n.33, 151n.83  
 logic, 18  
 Lohmann, Johannes, 149n.80  
 Long, A. A., 28n.117  
 Long, Herbert S., 1n.2  
 Lord, Carnes, 139n.41, 145n.59, 149n.79, 155n.91  
 Lucretius, 141n.51  
 Luschnat, Otto, 24n.83  
 Lydians, 131n.26  
 lyre, 130-31, 138-39, 144-45  
 Madan, Falconer, 46  
 manly spirit, 20, 27, 130-33, 144-45, 155n.91  
 manuscripts, 35-115, 117-18; Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11, 36-38, 97-101, 104-105, 108, 115, 117-18; Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45, 39-40, 97-102, 104-105, 108, 113-15, 117-18; Mertonensis gr. 304, 41-43, 97-101, 108, 117-18; Oxoniensis Bodleianus Savilianus gr. 1, 43-47, 97-101, 108, 113-14, 117-18; Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 158, 47-48, 97-101, 108, 117-18; Escorialensis gr. 40, 48-49, 97-101, 108, 117-18; Monacensis gr. 159, 50-53, 97-99, 101-102, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 1964, 53-56, 97-99, 102, 108, 115, 117-18; Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 21, 56-59, 97-99, 102, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 1966, 59-61, 97-99, 102, 108, 117-18; Vaticanus Rossianus gr. 979, 61-63, 97-99, 102-103, 108, 117-18; Vaticanus gr. 217, 63-65, 97-99, 102-103, 108, 117-18; Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.24, 66-68, 98-99, 104, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 1963, 68-71, 98-99, 104, 108, 115, 117-18; Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. IV/26, 71-74, 98-99, 104, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 2128, 74-75, 98-99, 104, 108, 117-18; Monacensis gr. 79, 75-78, 98-99, 104, 108-109, 111, 117-18; Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81, 78-81, 98-99, 104-105, 108, 111, 117-18; Parisinus Supplementarius gr. 133, 81-84, 98-99, 105, 108, 117-18; Venetus Marcianus gr. 262, 84-86, 98-99, 105-106, 108, 117-18; Cizensis gr. fol. 70, 86-88, 98-99, 105-106, 108, 110, 113-15, 117-18; Escorialensis gr. 136, 88-90, 98-99, 105, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 1965, 90-92, 98-99, 105-106, 108, 117-18; Parisinus gr. 2081, 92-94, 98-99, 105-110, 118; Vaticanus gr. 1338, 94-99, 105-108, 110, 118; Regimontanus 16 b 12, 108, 114-15; Bero-linensis Phillippicus gr. 1518, 108, 115, Vesontinus 409, 108-109  
 Marías, Julián, 169n.121  
 Marrou, Henri Irénée, 18n.74, 137n.37  
 Martianus Capella, 131n.21  
 Mates, Benson, 2n.7

Mathiesen, Thomas J., 123n.4, 135n.33, 143n.59, 149n.80, 159n.102, 165n.112, 175n.138  
 Matthew (Gospel of), 141n.50  
 Mau, Jürgen, 108-110, 115, 118  
 McClain, Ernest B., 151n.82  
 McMahon, A. Philip, 11n.47, 29n.117  
 medial: see ethos  
 medicine, 3-4  
 Meinecke, Bruno, 129n.20  
 melic composition, 35, 165n.112  
 melody, 120-21, 140-41, 157n.96, 164-69, 172-73; see also music  
 melos, 20-22, 25-27, 29-30, 34, 131n.23, 136-57; spondeian, 20, 130-31  
 Menodotus (1), 3, 5  
 Menodotus (2), 8  
 metaphor, 19, 32, 156-57  
 Methodic School (of physicians), 4  
 Michaelides, Solon, 123n.5-6, 145n.63, 153n.86, 161n.104  
 mimesis, 143n.59  
 mind, 14, 142-45  
 modes (Skeptic), 10-16  
 modulation, 35  
 Mountford, J. F., 121n.3  
 Munro, Kathleen, 149n.79  
 Muses, 125n.8  
 music, effects of, 20-22, 25, 27-28, 128-55 *passim*; military use of, 20, 25, 27, 130-31; usefulness of, 20, 22, 27, 150-51, 153n.90; ancient and new, 20-21, 28, 134-37; relationship to philosophy, 22, 25-27, 128-29, 148-49, 154-55; enjoyment of, 22, 34, 150-53; melodic element of, 30, 131n.23, 135n.33; divisions of, 35, 121n.2, n.4, 173n.136; as a science, 35, 120-21, 123n.4, 125n.8-9, 156-57, 172-73; definitions of, 120-25, 156-57; instrumental, 120-21, 135n.33, 154-55; in tragedy, 139n.41; harmful effects of, 145n.67, 152-55  
 musicality, 171n.123  
 Mutschmann, Hermann, 88, 108  
 nature, 17, 27, 140-43, 148-49, 171n.127  
 Neubecker, Annemarie Jeanette, 24n.83  
 Nicomachus, 159n.103, 161n.105, 163n.109, 167n.115, 169n.119, 175n.138  
 Nikolaos Murmuris, 56, 58  
 Nikolaos Sophianos, 68, 71  
 nonexistent, 33, 178-79  
 North, Helen F., 129n.16  
 notes, 22-23, 29-30, 35, 120-21, 158-59, 162-65, 168-69, 172-73; homophonous, 23, 158-59; dissonant, 23, 35, 160-63; consonant, 23, 35, 160-63; definition of, 35, 158-59; sharp, 158-63; heavy, 158-63  
 octave: see intervals

Odysseus, 21, 146-47  
 oenomel, 160-61  
 oxymel, 160-61  
 Pachymeres, 159n.102  
 paideia: see education  
 pain, 129n.18  
 painting, 124-25  
 Parmenides, 179n.145, n.151  
 passions, 17-18, 20-21, 23, 25, 28, 128-29, 146-47, 152-53, 155n.91, 165n.112, 168-69  
 past (time), 32-33, 176-79  
 Penelope, 146-47  
 perception, 9-15  
 Peripatetics, 23, 35, 127n.13, 168-69  
 perishing, 178-79  
 Peters, F. E., 129n.16, n.18, 173n.128, 177n.143, 179n.151  
 Phaedrus, 175n.138  
 phenomenon: see appearance  
 Philodemus, 24-26, 115, 125n.7, n.11, 127n.12, 129n.20, 131 n.21, n.25-26, 133n.28-29, n.31, 135n.33-34, n.36, 143n.52, n.56, n.59, 145n.62, 149n.79, 153n.90-91, 155n.94-95, 165 n.112  
 philosophy, 18-20, 22, 24-27, 128-29, 134-35; see also music, relationship to philosophy  
 physics, 18  
 Pickard-Cambridge, Arthur Wallace, 139n.41  
 Pindar, 34  
 pitch, 29, 32, 158-59, 172-73  
 Plato, 20-21, 23, 134-35, 146-47, 168-69; *Republic*, 125n.9, 129n.16, 135n.33, 145n.67, 149n.79; *Phaedrus*, 129n.16, n.17; *Leges*, 133n.27, 137n.36, 155n.91; *Phaedo*, 135n.33, 149n.80; *Timaeus*, 135n.33, 151n.82, 171n.124; *Euthydemus*, 135n.34; *Menexenus*, 135n.35; *Protagoras*, 139n.42, 155n.91; *Definitiones*, 155n.35; *Philebus*, 177n.143  
 Platonic Academy, 8-10  
 pleasure, 12, 129n.18  
 Plutarch, 24, 33-35; *De musica*, 34, 123n.5, 125n.8, 131n.24-25, 133n.30, 137n.37, n.39, 139n.43, 143n.59, 145n.67, 149 n.79, 151n.82, 153n.86; *Quaestiones convivales*, 34, 125n.8, 153n.85; *Septem sapientium convivium*, 34, 153n.87, 179n.149; *De placitis philosophorum*, 35, 157n.99, 169n.123; *Non posse suaviter*, 123n.5, 147n.72, 153n.86; *Adversus Colotem*, 125n.7; *Pericles*, 125n.7, 135n.35; *De virtute morali*, 129n.20, 155 n.91; *Apophthegmata Laconica*, 131n.25; *Instituta Laconica*, 131n.25; *De sollertia animalium*, 153n.85, n.87; *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 171n.124; *Compendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 171n.124; *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos*, 179n.149, 181n.153  
 poetics, 20, 22, 26-27, 138-39, 146-49

Pöhlmann, Egert, 141n.47  
 Pollux, 123n.6, 159n.102  
 Polybius, 131n.25  
 practical, 19, 127n.14-15, 156-57, 180-81  
 present (time), 33, 176-81  
 Prodromites, Thomas, 36  
 psalter, 122-23  
 Ptolemy, 157n.96, 159n.103, 161n.104-105, 163n.109, 167n.115  
 pyrrhic rhythm: see rhythm  
 Pyrrho, 5-8, 10, 19  
 Pyrrhonian hypotyposes: see Sextus Empiricus, writings  
 Pythagoras, 20-21, 25, 28, 130-31, 142-43, 150-51, 169n.123  
 Pythagoreans, 151n.82, 163n.110  
 Quintilian, 24, 26-28, 125n.8, 127n.12, 129n.19, 131n.21, n.23, n.25, 135n.33-34, 137n.36, 139n.41, n.43, 141n.47-48, 145 n.62, 147n.70, 149n.80, 151n.82, 153n.84, 175n.138  
 Rackham, H., 8n.37  
 Reckow, Fritz, 161n.105  
 Record, P. D., 46  
 Regino of Prüm, 131n.21  
 regress ad infinitum, 15-16  
 Reinach, Théodore, 151n.82  
 rhetoric, 18, 26  
 rhythm, 21-23, 29-31, 130-31, 136-37, 156-57, 172-73, 176-77, 180-81; science of, 23, 172-73, 176-77, 180-81; pyrrhic, 131n.27; definition of 174-75  
 rhythmic composition, 35, 120-21, 165n.12, 172-73  
 rhythmoid, 157n.96  
 Richter, Will, 161n.105  
 Riethmüller, Albrecht, 32n.130, 159n.103  
 righteousness, 155n.91  
 Rome, 4-5, 27  
 Rowell, Lewis, 175n.138  
 sacrifices, 20, 140-41  
 salpinx, 144-45  
 Sandbach, Francis H., 10n.44  
 Saturninus, 1, 3, 5  
 scale, 35, 135n.33; of feet, 174-75  
 Schaerer, René, 123n.4  
 science, 123n.4, 125n.8; see also music; rhythm  
 Schlesinger, Kathleen, 123n.5  
 Seidel, Wilhelm, 175n.138  
 semitone: see intervals  
 Seneca, 19n.77, 133n.29, 145n.64, 153n.91  
 sensation, 17  
 sense-objects, 23, 29, 31-32, 156-59, 168-71  
 sense-organs, 11-14  
 senses, 8, 12-14, 23, 31-32, 157n.99, 158-59, 170-71; see also hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch





Sextus Empiricus, life, 1-4, sphere, 4-5  
 Sextus Empiricus, writings, 5, 18; *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, 2-5, 11, 18, 20, 127n.14-15, 153n.86, 157n.97, 169n.121, 177n.141-42; *Iatrica hypomnemata*, 3; *Adversus mathematicos*, 3-5, 18-19, 116n.177, 125n.10-11, 135n.33, 147n.75, 151n.81-82, 157n.96, 163n.109, 169n.120-22, 171n.126-27, 173n.129, 175n.139, 177n.142, 179n.152; *Empirica hypomnemata*, 4; *Adversus musicos*, form, 19-24; *Adversus musicos*, parallel sources, 24-35; *Adversus musicos*, editions of: see Bekker, Immanuel; Bury, R. G.; Chouet, Peter and Jacob; Fabricius, Io. Albertus; Hervetus, Gentianus; Mau, Jürgen  
 Shorey, Paul, 118  
 sight, 12-14, 32, 156-59  
 Skeptic School (of philosophy), 1, 27; history, 5-10, 15; methods, 9-16; expressions, 16-17; aims, 17-18, 24  
 smell, 12-14, 156-57  
 Socrates, 8, 20, 25, 27, 134-35  
 Solomon, Jon, 165n.112  
 Solon, 130-31  
 Sotion, 8n.35  
 soul, 12, 20, 23, 26, 129n.16-18, 134-35, 140-43, 147n.67, 150-53, 164-65, 170-71; epithymetic, 129n.16-17, 135n.33; thymic, 129n.17, 133n.28, 135n.33; rational, 129n.17, n.20, 135n.33; irrational, 129n.17, n.20  
 sound, 21-23, 29-30, 32, 35, 156-59, 162-63, 168-73; sharp and heavy, 156-59; long and short, 170-71  
 Spartans, 20, 25, 27, 130-31, 144-45  
 Spintharus, 120-21  
 spondeic: see melos  
 stasimon, 138-39  
 Stobaeus, 127n.13, 129n.18, 155n.91, 177n.141, n.144  
 Stoics, 2-3, 9, 23, 35, 127n.13, 155n.91, 168-69  
 Stough, Charlotte, 7n.29  
 substance, 156-57, 164-65, 168-73  
 Suda, 121n.3, 139n.44  
 Susemihl, Franz, 175n.138  
 suspension of judgment, 6, 9-19 *passim*, 24, 26, 28, 127n.14  
 syllable, 170-71, 176-77  
 syrinx, 34, 152-53  
 systaltic: see ethos  
 taste, 12-14, 32, 156-57, 160-61  
 Telecleides, fragment 1 (Kock), 136-37  
 tetractys, 163n.110  
 Themistius, 137n.36  
 Theon of Smyrna, 151n.82  
 Theophrastus, 123n.6  
 thesis, 23, 29, 157n.96, 174-77  
 thunder, 140-41  
 Timaeus Locri, 157n.96

time: see chronos  
 Timon, 1, 5-8, 178-79  
 tone: see intervals  
 tonoi, 35  
 touch, 12-13, 32, 156-59  
 tragedians, 164-65  
 tragedy, 165n.112  
 tropes (Skeptic): see modes (Skeptic)  
 Tzetzes Iohannes, 139n.41  
 Vetter, Walther, 137n.36, 139n.41, 151n.83  
 virtue, 20-21, 26, 129n.16, 133n.28, 145n.65, 152-53, 155n.91;  
   see also discretion; judgment; righteousness; manly spirit  
 Vogel, Marie, 58, 65, 71, 74, 88  
 Waerden, Bartel Leendert van der, 151n.82  
 Walter, Anton Friedrich, 149n.79  
 Westphal, Rudolf, 175n.138  
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von, 118, 131n.26  
 Winckler, Io. Frederic, 113  
 wisdom, 19, 152-53

